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ABSTRACT

Results are reported from a 2-year study designed to explore how the nature of women's jobs, as viewed by women and their husbands, influences the system of nuclear family relationships and affects parents' involvement with their children's schools. The research has evolved into a comparative exploratory study of the responses of 30 families to wives' employment in jobs requiring no more than a high school education. All of the participating families, representing Anglo, Black, and Mexican-American ethnic groups, were generally at the same stage of family cycle. Specifically, wives' employment took place within two types of businesses: (1) a large telephone company where working women experienced little autonomy in organizing their work, close supervision and high pressure, and almost no flexibility in taking short-term emergency leave to deal with family/children's needs; and (2) three large banks in which women experienced a greater range of autonomy, a much more relaxed relationship with their supervisors, and relatively flexible policies for short-term emergency leave. Evidence was presented which suggests a link between low autonomy/rigid short-term leave policies and the following effects: greater stress and strain on the system of relationships within the nuclear family, mothers' feelings of parental inadequacy, and lower levels of parent involvement in the schools. Interview schedules used for the first and second phases of the study, descriptions of work and family environment scales, tabular data, and other related materials are appended. (MP)

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FINAL INTERIM REPORT

WORKING PARENTS PROJECT

SOUTHWEST EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT LABORATORY
AUSTIN, TEXAS

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FINAL INTERIM REPORT

WORKING PARENTS PROJECT (WPP)
[Formerly Family and Community Studies (FACS)]

DIVISION OF FAMILY, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY STUDIES (DFSCS)

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ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study of the interrelationships that develop over time between two of the most important aspects of people's lives; their work and their families.

The steady increase in the number of mothers working outside the home stimulated our interest in the influence of the *nature* of the mother's waged work on herself and her relations with her family. Thirty (30) families were selected using two types of workplaces; a large telephone company and three of the larger banks in a Texas City. Equal numbers of Anglo, Black and Mexican American women working in largely clerical, non-supervisory jobs were identified. Three in-depth interviews were conducted with each family: two with the mothers and one with the fathers. The study proceeded in two phases: the first with a sample of 15 telephone company employees and their husbands and the second with 15 bank employees and their husbands.

The workplaces of women within each phase were similar. Those Phase I women working in the phone company jobs experienced little autonomy, close supervision and high pressure, and their employer provided almost no flexibility for short-term, emergency leave to deal with family/children's needs. However, their salaries and benefits were well above those of Phase II bank employees. Phone company jobs were unionized and wage levels had been negotiated in collective bargaining.

Women working in bank jobs experienced a greater range of autonomy to organize their work, a much more relaxed relationship with their supervisors and relatively flexible policies for short-term, emergency leave. Their wages, although near the average wage for similar jobs elsewhere in the city, were substantially lower than those of phone company women.

Examination of expressed motivation for working by both women and men provided evidence for a degree of interdependence between spouses' plans, such that job/career strategies of *individuals* in dual-earner families are better described as *family* strategies. Failure to consider this interdependence on the part of some spouses appeared to have contributed to conflictful relations when plans of one were perceived by their spouse as undermining family needs.

Research staff's judgments and ratings of various features of families' organization and relationships were related to selected patterns of management/supervision experienced by mothers and fathers. Although virtually all mothers believed that it would be better for them to stay home with their children, the *vehemence* with which this belief was expressed was substantially stronger among phone company employees, who work under greater pressure, less autonomy and have greater inflexibility in their workplace to grant short term, emergency leave to take care of family needs. They tended to express more often feelings of guilt for not being with their children, and lack of patience to meet their needs. Yet, in spite of job constraints, substantially more mothers than fathers overcame those restrictions to become involved in the education of their children. Among couples who shared an image of the ideal family, more often the husband and/or the children were involved in household chores, assisting the mother, who in almost all cases continued to have primary responsibility for housecare. The quality of family relationships appears to be closely related to the time parents and children spend together, whether working around the house, in recreational or educational activities.

The observed connections between job and family patterns are neither direct nor unidirectional. Rather, relationships between labor force experiences of spouses and their family roles are reciprocal and multiplex. They have developed through interactions and changes over time as family dynamics, personal and spouse priorities, and labor force structures have been altered. Workplace policies may offer contraints or opportunities to parents in their family activities, but still there are culturally-based gender role factors, as well as unequal distribution of educational and work opportunities, which affect individuals and families as well as individual priorities and motivations.

It appears that intra-family dynamics, work conditions of both parents, and general conditions of the overall labor market interact and affect how dual-earner families cope and adapt to the emotional and time pressures which are present in their lives. The overall findings indicate that management, labor, schools, and other social service agencies can play a vital role in creating the conditions necessary for working parents to adequately realize their dual roles as workers and parents, both of which are vital for the continuity and improvement of our society.

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A. INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale

The research to be reported here explores the interrelationships that develop over time between two of the most important aspects of people's lives: their work and their families. The research was stimulated by a growing concern with working mothers as a social phenomenon; we therefore aimed to study families in which both parents are working full-time outside the home.

Smith (1979) reports that between 1890 and 1978, the female labor force participation rate (percent of women sixteen or older who are employed or looking for work) grew from 18% to near 50%, while the rate for males declined from 84% to 78%. This latter decrease is due mainly to more time spent on education, a longer life span, and earlier retirement.

The sharpest sustained increase in women's participation in the labor force has occured in the last few decades. Smith estimates that nearly fifteen million women have joined the labor force between 1947 and 1978. These new workers were mostly married women, since single and divorced women have always worked for wages outside the home in larger numbers. Using Department of Labor statistics, Smith (1979b) has estimated that by 1990, two-thirds of all women under the age of 55 will be working for wages --including more than half of the mothers of children under six.

This increase occurs in spite of women's disadvantaged position in the labor force. The majority of employed women have jobs characterized as secondary in prestige, income and security. Women and minorities tend to be the last hired and first fired (Doeringer and Piore, 1971, Gordon, 1972).

The increasing proportion and absolute numbers of mothers working for wages outside the home have tremendous social and economic implications for, among other things, child care, education, work schedules, transportation, and housing. A greater understanding of these implications for the life of families should help in formulating the policies and in changing the practices of institutions that interact with the family--the industries, businesses and agencies that demand parents' productive work efforts, as well as the schools and other institutions that contribute to children's education and socialization.

2. Summative Review of Related Literature

That American wives and mothers have increasingly begun to work for pay since World War II has hardly gone unnoticed in the social scientific research on the family. A growing body of research literature in the last twenty years discusses the effects of women's employment on the family. However, recent reviews and critiques of this literature stress that much of it has been purely descriptive and social problem oriented, concerned with discovering the characteristics of employed women, their motivations, and the consequences of their move into the labor force--with a particular concern about the effects on children (Nye and Hoffman, 1963; Hoffman and Nye, 1974; Beechey, 1978; Beckman, 1978; Smith, 1979; Rallings and Nye, 1979).

Furthermore, much of the recent research on "working mothers" makes no attempt to advance theories about family systems and interactions, but rather retains an implicit orientation toward Parsonian theory. Specifically, the widespread assumption has been that normative sex roles are the central principle and causative force determining family structure and functioning (Beechey, 1978; Blaxall and Reagan, 1976; Parsons, 1959; Parsons and Bales, 1955).

Parsons' thesis is likewise basic to most research on how "class" affects various aspects of the family. As several critics of this research point out, most of it has been based on the Parsonian assumption that the husband's occupational status is the sole or primary determinant of a family's location in the stratification system (Aldous et al., 1979; Oppenheimer, 1977; Beechey, 1978; Kanter, 1977; Furstenburg, 1974). This theory, furthermore, oversimplifies a female wage-earner's effect on the family, reducing it to a possible cause of such psychological stresses as marital dissatisfaction or the wife's role conflict (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976). Finally, by relying on normative explanations for family roles, the Parsonian perspective has discouraged researchers from exploring the relationship between the types of jobs available to men and women and the division of labor in the home, including important aspects of child rearing (Kanter, 1977; Hartman, 1976; Zaretsky, 1976).

Social scientists have, in the past few years, begun to pay increased attention to more detailed linkages between the workplace and the family. Kanter (1977) has argued that it is time for sociologists to cease studying businesses and families as if these were unconnected institutions.

Recent studies of dual-earner families have focused primarily on task allocation in these families, with a primary interest in determining the effects, if any, of women's working for pay on traditional sex roles in families (Presser and Baldwin, 1980; Angist et al., 1976; Beckman, 1978). However, most of these studies focus primarily on housework and direct relatively little attention to either child care or child rearing practices.

A recent trend in research on two-earner families is the study of "dual-career families," in which both parents are pursuing professional careers (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1971; 1978; 1979). While this research does address the issues of task allocation and child care in the family as they are coordinated with the demands of each parent's job, the families studied fall into high educational and income brackets, and thus are not representative of the majority of dual-earner families.

An additional gap in the research is that it deals almost exclusively with dual-earner Anglo families. Its practical and theoretical usefulness is therefore limited. Research exploring changes in families should take into account possible variations in the response of ethnic and minority families to the circumstance of mothers' and wives' working full-time outside the home.

The well-known research of Kohn (1969; 1977), designed to study the relationship between social class and parental values and child rearing practices, represents a common sociological approach to looking at the connections between work and parental roles and philosophies in the sense that it looks for statistical associations between workplace and home variables. Kohn's most important innovation, however, lies in his follow-up attempts to specify the particular conditions of father's work lives which would account for the statistical association between class and parental values. He found that the aspects of fathers' jobs relating to the degree of acquired self-direction--on the job tasks and the degree of supervision--accounted for more variation in parental values than did any other variable, including level of income and occupational prestige. In other words, according to Kohn's findings, the degree of autonomy and task complexity which a job requires and encourages in a worker may have more pervasive effects on a person's way of thinking and behaving as a parent than the usual indicators of income and prestige used to distinguish populations by class.

A major assumption of the current project has been that, following Kohn's lead, future researchers must focus on more concrete elements of parents' jobs, including how closely they are supervised and how much feeling of control and autonomy they have in their work, in addition to salary and benefits. Furthermore, the intervening variables of (1) mother's feelings about her work and that of her husband, and (2) father's feelings about his own work and that of his wife, are proposed as important to take into consideration. We suggest that the effect of work experiences on parents extends beyond values (which Kohn studied) and includes such areas as (1) the acquisition of knowledge and skills on the job, (2) the job's impact on self-esteem, (3) the effect of jobs on parental commitment to family life, and (4) the jobs' effect on parents' temporal and psychological availability (e.g., moods) to other family members. Following research by Lein (1974; 1979) and Piotrkowski (1979), among others, we propose that in order to learn more about how work affects a parent in these hard-to-measure ways, data and analysis cannot be limited to short answers and statistical analysis. Understanding the processes whereby the experiences at work and at home are interrelated requires a different research approach--one which explores in greater depth the conditions of a job and the nature of a family's interaction from the point of view of the worker and his/her spouse.

3. Research Focus

A major goal of the was to explore how the nature of the mother's waged work effects herself and her interactions with her family. Therefore, it was imperative that research subjects include women in jobs which clearly contrast along lines specifically suggested, by previous research, to strongly influence workers. In addition, it was important to include Anglo, Black, and Mexican American families in order to identify and assess any variations in families' responses to working mothers. There is research evidence suggesting that there are different attitudes towards, and perhaps differences in resources, that are available to employed mothers among these ethnic groups (Scanzoni, 1971; Blood and Wolfe, 1971; Keefe *et al*., 1976; 1978).

The framework for assessing the impact of jobs on the mothers' families was originally proposed to be that of costs and rewards associated with different types of jobs. Major research questions considered were: (1) How do working mothers perceive the rewards and costs of different jobs? (2) How do these jobs affect her view of herself, her work at home, and her relationships with other family members? (3) In particular, how does her work experience carry over into her activities and ideas as a parent? In addition, it seemed important to ask (4) how her husband views her work and its effect on her activities in the family, (5) whether or not his views and feelings are influenced by his own job, and (6) how parents negotiate the similarities and differences in their views, especially regarding parental roles.

As a result of our pilot interviews, we developed doubts about the usefulness of the resource/exchange theory for structuring our interview schedules. This is an example of how, in inductive research, the analytical framework must change in order to remain responsive to the data. The original framework proposed for examining the relationship between families and the workplace was "exchange" or "resource" theory, which are variations on a predominant model for recent sociological studies of the family (i.e., Scanzoni, 1979). The theory posits that a spouse's relative power in a marriage rests on the number and kind of external resources available to him or her; e.g., educational level and salary are often cited as important resources.

Using this general framework, but expanding the meaning of "resource" and substituting the word "reward", the original proposal sought to sample dual-earner families in which wives were employed in jobs that varied in terms of the resources/rewards they provided. The rewards thought to be significant in differentiating jobs were (1) the degree of autonomy of the worker, control over own pace of work, etc.; (2) the complexity of the work tasks, including daily or weekly variability of the work; and (3) the value placed on the work, including salary and the esteem of co-workers and family members.

When we selected women whose jobs varied along these dimensions, we expected that we could then examine the effects of key features of work experiences, both on family members' relationships and on the negotiation with husbands of parental roles. In addition, we proposed to look for key avenues of exchange between workplace and family, regarding them as two systems bridged by the individual worker.

During the Pilot Test phase of interviewing, in which we interviewed four families corresponding ethnically and job-wise to the families we proposed to study later, several realities emerged which led to a shift in the analytical framework. The first was a very practical one: during pilot interviews, the interview guide--constructed using questions suggested by the resource theory framework--caused antagonistic feelings in some respondents towards their spouses, thereby risking corresponding antagonistic feelings toward the project. We concluded that the primary cause for this was the presumption by resource/exchange theory of an essentially adversary relationship between spouses, modeled as the theory is on the capitalist market relationships of bargaining and power. For example, the interview focused primarily on household division of labor--who does what in different areas--which forced respondents to confront inequities or differences.

Another limitation of the original interview guide was its arbitrary selection and limitation of family relationship areas upon which to focus. Concentrating the inquiry primarily on the division of labor between spouses in preselected areas of housework, child care and child socialization made the study far more limited than its original purposes.

A subtle but important shift in our thinking about family relationships arose from insights offered by our consultant, Dr. Nancy Wedemeyer of The University of Texas at Austin, and from a closer look at the systems theory represented in Kantor and Lehr (1974). The systems framework led to questions in the revised interview guide which focused less exclusively on the actual division of labor and more on how individuals and families respond to conflict, make decisions, solve problems, and adapt to circumstances at work and at home.

In addition, although many of the questions still retained an emphasis on behavior, there was a more formal incorporation of the subjective perceptions of parents, through systems theory's explicit recognition that behavior in social systems (unlike that in mechanical systems) is purposive and goal-seeking. In family processes, as discussed by Kantor and Lehr (1974), there are constant feedback loops between behavior and ideas and goals, providing an approach to the family which is essentially dynamic--thus suggesting an analytical framework which is not undirectional. This framework does not imply linear relationships between variables, but rather assumes that relationships between individuals and between workplaces and homes are reciprocally influencing. In order to capture the reciprocal and dynamic process of work/family influences, we added the dimension of time to the interview guides. The interviews then explored how work and family decisions and roles were changed and developed over time. This revised interview guide remained in use throughout both years of the study, with minor modifications at the beginning of the second year (Phase II).

Another aspect of the methodology which has influenced the data in a significant way is the sampling procedure. We attempted to retain as much control as possible over policies of employers of women in the sample, and to vary the jobs held by the women according to the key criteria of autonomy and style of supervision, complexity of tasks, and salary level. Our sampling criteria specified that the jobs require no more than a high school education; that they be non-managerial office jobs; and that there be sufficient numbers of married women with elementary school-aged children holding these jobs to provide a sample of 15, or possibly 30, families of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The jobs selected turned out to include three types of jobs typically occupied by women within a large telephone company. Since access to women workers was secured through a union in this first year (Phase I) of research, the jobs were also unionized jobs. Within this large company, this narrow category of jobs fell under the broader category of "craft" positions. The "craft" jobs are not necessarily the highly skilled jobs implied by common usage of the term, but rather include a variety of office and outside jobs which are unionized and non-supervisory. It does include unskilled, entry-level jobs such as telephone operator, one of the three types of jobs held by women in our sample. As it turned out, this company was found to have a rigid and broadly applied style of supervision and management, at least for the female-dominated craft jobs. Therefore, the jobs held by many women--including those in our sample--were somewhat varied according to both salary level and task complexity, but were completely lacking in autonomy. As a result, while there was some job variety relevant to the original sample design, there was little variety regarding key factors affecting women's satisfaction with their work. This appeared to be due to the fact that the satisfaction derived from work was inseparable from the degree of autonomy and style of supervision associated with the job. This does not mean that salaries and benefits were unimportant in women's assessment of their jobs. However, feelings about salaries are separable from feelings about the work itself. It is possible, as we have seen clearly from the Phase I interviews, for people to remain in jobs that give them little satisfaction simply because they pay well.

The first year's preliminary analysis centered, then, on the workers' and their families' responses to the management style and policies of the women's employer as these interacted with those of husbands' employers. Aside from the salary levels and benefits, the issues which emerged as most significant to the respondents, regarding both their own daily office experience and their degree of access to their families on a regular basis, were the following:

a. Style of management, in particular the lack of autonomy in the women's jobs. This means the virtual lack of control over the organization and pacing of their work, the absence of any decision-making power regarding more than routine transactions with customers, and the routine nature of the tasks. This was related to the close style of supervision, whereby supervisors are close at hand and potentially observing transactions at regular intervals during the day.

b. What here will be labeled Short Term Leave policy. This includes in addition to the number of paid sick and personal leave days available per year, the extent to which supervisors or bosses are flexible about allowing workers to take leaves or part-days off to meet family needs, including the availability of "compensation" time without penalty.

The resource/reward of "task complexity" was difficult to ascertain except in a general and inexact sense using our open-ended interview format. It is so interrelated with the amount of control over the organization of work and decision-making power, due to the service (customer contact) nature of the jobs, that it was difficult in some jobs to distinguish between these two dimensions. Tolerance expressed by individuals for different levels of task complexity varied much more than tolerance for different levels of autonomy. This is undoubtedly due in part to such factors as variations in levels or types of intelligence and ability--factors which were beyond the scope of our analysis. It was evident from our interviews that to all of the workers in our sample, the most salient and basic factors relating to "task complexity" affecting their job satisfaction, once the basic skills and knowledge required to perform their jobs had been mastered, had to do with (1) how much of a voice they had in organizing and reorganizing the work; (2) how much opportunity they were given over time for increasing their knowledge about the related tasks of other workers/divisions; and (3) how much opportunity they were given to grow in their decision-making power as their skill at their work developed. These were important to workers regardless of the level of task complexity they began with. We have therefore subsumed these factors under the concept of "worker autonomy" rather than retaining the concept of "task complexity."

We felt, therefore, that the hypotheses emerging from analysis of the first year's data could best be explored further by second-year sampling through businesses where both management style and employer policies toward non-supervisory female staff would contrast clearly with those of the Phase I company. It was decided that by selecting in Phase II the families of women working in clerical positions in banks--positions which did not require education past high school and were non-management positions--an interesting contrast in employer policies would result. The assumption that clerical positions in banks would provide the appropriate contrast was based on the extreme nature of the phone company's management style for the jobs sampled (it would be easy to find employers with less rigidity in supervisory style) coupled with project staff's informally acquired knowledge of bank clerical jobs through observations in our own banks. The initial interview with bank personnel early in Phase II of the study supported the assumption. The jobs selected are referred to by bank personnel officers as "non-exempt" jobs, meaning that employees in these jobs qualify for overtime pay, while management ("officers") do not.

Thus, the samples of the study's two phases contrast clearly regarding the autonomy of the female workers on the job and the style of their supervision; their employers' short term leave policies; and the overall level of their salaries (although there is variation within each sample regarding salary levels).

Therefore, part of the original research goal--to vary the sample according both to worker autonomy and to the valuation of the jobs (salary and esteem) in order to observe these factors' effects on the workers' family lives--has been achieved. The additional variable of short term leave policies, which emerged in Phase I as important to parents, could also be examined as it interacts with families' response to the dual earner situation.

In summary, the research was initially designed to expand the theoretical underpinnings of most research on dual-earner families and to fill in important gaps in the data. We proposed to accomplish the former by: (1) looking at more concrete aspects of people's jobs--such as worker autonomy/style of supervision, in addition to salary and benefits; (2) examining how these features of work experience influence family lives of workers, in particular women's view of this; (3) including the entire nuclear family system of relationships, in particular parental roles, in the analysis of the family, rather than focusing exclusively on the marital relationship; and (4) assuming, as systems theory suggests, that work and family influences are reciprocal, and therefore should be studied as they are developed over time.

In order to help fill important gaps in the research literature on dual-earner families, the sample was designed to include (1) families where the women had no more than a high school education and were not working in managerial or "professional" level jobs; and (2) equal numbers of Anglo, Black and Mexican American families.

The research method is qualitative--meaning the primary data is in-depth, open-ended interviews with respondents, and the analysis is therefore qualitative rather than quantitative. The treatment of quantifiable variables and measures is descriptive of the sample, rather than inferential about population parameters. It is also inductive research--meaning that a minimum number of assumptions and hypotheses guided the study, but rather the hypotheses and theoretical implications were developed by us from the data itself, and therefore the analytical framework shifted somewhat as a result of relationships we observed within the first year's interviews.

The study was conducted over two years, referred to as "Phases" within the body of the report. Phase I families contain mothers who work in three types of jobs within a large telephone company. The jobs are known as "craft" jobs, a larger category of jobs within the company which are unionized, non-supervisory jobs. These three types of jobs require no more than a high school education and are office jobs. The Phase II include women who work in "non-exempt" jobs in banks. These are office jobs which do not require a high school education, and are strictly defined as jobs which qualify for (are not exempt from) overtime pay, unlike management/"officers". All jobs held by women in the sample are "women's jobs" in that they are generally occupied by women and are generally thought of as such.

The jobs of women in Phases I and II contrast clearly regarding (1) the amount of autonomy given them on the job, (2) the overall salary levels associated with the jobs, and (3) the degree of flexibility of employers regarding short-term leave (e.g., sick and personal leave). In addition, the Phase I female sample occupy jobs which are union-organized, while the Phase II women do not.

Finally, throughout the report, the term "worker autonomy" is used to refer to: (1) the degree of control the worker has over the organization of her work; (2) the amount of decision-making authority she is given when confronting routine, or less-than-routine, problems in her daily tasks; and (3) the closely related dimension of freedom to develop in a job so that the two former aspects of autonomy are expanded as a worker gains knowledge and skill within a job over time. All of these dimensions of jobs are dependent on the style of supervision encouraged by their employer, and therefore "worker autonomy" and "style of supervision" are used interchangeably throughout the report.

The terms "family roles" and "parental roles" are used often throughout the report, along with terms such as "family relationships." By "roles" we refer to (1) the views that respondents express that reveal what "being a parent" means to them; this is the cultural dimension of roles; and (2) the patterns of individual parents' behavior towards their children that may be related to these cultural meanings, or to circumstances such as the demands of time/job or negotiations with one's spouse over time. Therefore, "roles," as we use the term, contains a behavioral and cultural dimension, but these dimensions may conflict, or at least be mutually inconsistent. This usage allows for consideration of the dynamic and multi-levelled nature of roles. "Family roles" simply expands the relationships considered to include parent/child, child/parent, parent/parent, wife/husband. And the term "relationships," as in "her relationship with her family," refers less to a patterned and culturally meaningful aspect of relationships, and more to the emotional quality of relationships between individuals (whether they are open, closed, conflictful, warm, etc.).

B. PROCEDURES FOR PHASE I AND PHASE II

Once we had defined the basic characteristics of families required to explore the interrelationships between work and family life, we undertook the procedures necessary to secure such a sample. Because of our primarily qualitative approach, the total sample goal was set at thirty (30) families, equally divided among the three largest ethnic groups present in our region; Anglo, Mexican American and Black. In order to compare workers *in different* types of workplaces, the first half of the sample, Phase I was obtained from among women workers for the telephone company. The fifteen (15) families for Phase II, corresponding to the second year, were recruited from among workers at three large banks. The procedures followed in each Phase were organized into four main activities: (1) securing an appropriate sample of families; (2) developing instruments and training research staff; (3) collecting and storing data; and (4) analyzing data and reporting findings.

These four activities have been carried out for both Phase I and Phase II. Since there are more similarities than differences between the two Phases, the procedures for Phase I will be described with more detail, and for Phase II only the differences in approach from Phase I will be noted.

1. Phase I Procedures

a. Securing an Appropriate Sample of Families

A relatively homogeneous sample in terms of job types and employer policies could be obtained by controlling some workplace variables. This was accomplished by selecting women workers from a single industry.

Contacts were established with a number of potential sources of subjects and preliminary conversations were held. These sources included, in addition to businesses and industries, labor unions and training/employment programs.

Contacts with officials of a large electronics manufacturing plant revealed a general reluctance on their part to allow an outside concern, even a non-profit research institution, to have access to their employees for research purposes.

Information from the Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated that one of the largest employers of women in the city was the telephone company. Inquiries were referred to the company's corporate headquarters in another state. At that point, we reactivated prior contacts with the Communications Workers of America local.

The negotiations with CWA local leaders led to our presentation of the study's research purposes for their consideration. Once their cooperation was obtained, work sessions were conducted to decide how to proceed in identifying potential subjects. This involved working with the male president and two female vice-presidents of the CWA local. Their support and involvement in the location, identification and pre-screening of the candidates not only saved valuable time, but also provided a tacit endorsement of the research effort and enhanced cooperation from the subjects.

CWA leaders were then provided with a set of sampling criteria. In addition to specifying certain job skill levels and ethnicity, these guidelines required that each potential subject (1) be currently married, (2) have at least one dependent school age child (between five and 15), (3) have at least a year's experience in her current job, and (4) have a spouse of the same ethnicity. These sampling criteria were designed to ensure that only dual-earner families with school age children be identified. The job levels specified, selected in consultation with the CWA officials, were chosen to provide a contrast in the autonomy associated with the jobs, the training required to perform the jobs, and the starting wage. The sampling design also required equal representation from the three largest ethnic groups: Anglo, Mexican American and Black, for a total of 15 families.

These criteria drastically reduced the pool of available subjects. The high incidence of divorce, remarriage and single parenthood surprised the union officers, who until then had had no reason to inquire about the marital status of their members. What appeared at the onset to be a relatively simple task actually turned out to be quite difficult.

In their contacts with potential subjects, union officials inquired only about "interest" in participating in the study, and then they furnished interested people with copies of a brief three-page summary of the study's purpose and procedures (see Appendix A). For each of those who continued to express interest after reading the summary, the union officers completed a Referral Form and forwarded it to WPP staff. This form requested such information as name, title of current job, years on that job, number of years in the company, number and ages of dependent children, ethnicity and work and home phone numbers. From that point on, all direct contacts with potential subjects were made by WPP staff. We did not tell the union officers which potential subjects eventually participated.

Subjects who appeared to meet the sampling specifications were initially contacted by phone and then sent a follow-up letter. The letter requested a face to face "get acquainted" meeting between the couple and WPP staff who would conduct the actual interviews. During that meeting, the study's goals were clarified, questions were answered, the need for the tape-recording of interviews was explained, the pledges of anonymity and confidentiality were made, and Informed Consent Forms were signed in duplicate by both participants and researchers. At that point, some interviews were conducted; or in other cases later dates were arranged for interviews with each spouse separately. These referrals were followed up until a total of fifteen families had been recruited. The sample configuration for Phase I is presented in Table 1.

b. Instruments and Research Staff Training

Concurrent with negotiations to secure the sample of families, interview schedules were developed during a Pilot Test Phase. Schedules were developed by the Project staff and submitted to in-house review to SEDL colleagues. Then, the schedules were used to interview one Black, one Anglo, and two Mexican American families in which the women were employed in the types of jobs anticipated for subjects in the actual study. Interview tapes were analyzed in-house and also submitted for analysis to an outside consultant, Dr. Nancy Wedemeyer of The University of Texas at Austin. Her input, together with Project staff's analysis of the interviews, led to the development of the final version of the Schedules used in the actual study. (See Appendix B for a copy of the three schedules.) In addition to the interview schedules, two standardized instruments were used, following the suggestions and advice from both reviewers and our outside consultant. The first is The Family Environment Scale (Short Form), which consists of 40 statements that the respondent marks true or false for his/her family. The Scale produces 10 subscale scores. These scores can be transformed into standard scores using tables provided by the instrument developer.

The subscales are grouped into Relationship Dimensions (Cohesion, Expressiveness and Conflict), Personal Growth Dimensions (Independence, Achievement Orientation, Intellectual-Cultural Orientation, Active Recreational Orientation and Moral and Religious Emphasis) and System Maintenance Dimensions (Organization and Control).

A second instrument, the Work Environment Scale, was chosen to ascertain some characteristics of the workplaces of husbands and wives. Similarly constructed and used, the Work Environment Scale contains the following dimensions: Relationship Dimensions (Involvement, Peer Cohesion and Staff Support), Personal Growth Dimensions (Autonomy and Task Orientation) and the System Maintenance and System Change Dimension (Work Pressure, Clarity, Control, Innovation and Physical Comfort). For a description of the subscales, see Appendix C.

Evidence for these scales' validity and reliability, both regular and Short Forms, is provided in the manual (Moos and others, 1974).

Budget limitations prevented matching the ethnicity of male respondents with interviewers. The Senior Researcher, a Hispanic male, conducted all the interviews with men. Women were matched with female interviewers of their same ethnicity. Therefore, two additional interviewers were recruited to conduct interviews with Black and Mexican American subjects. Their social science academic background and extensive work experience permitted them to quickly grasp the goals and procedures of the Project.

The interviewers were required to read all pertinent documents, including the research plan and the reports from consultant and reviewers. They also joined with the regular staff in listening to and reviewing a complete set of data from the first family interviewed. Interviewers carried out two training interviews each with subjects outside the sample population. The collective staff review of these training interviews greatly helped to improve the staff's ability to code and summarize collected data.

Following this training period, a number of formal and informal information-exchange sessions enabled the research staff to further develop and refine its approach to the project.

c. Data Collection and Storage

During this Phase of the study, a total of 44 interviews were conducted. Only one husband declined participation, blaming his heavy work schedule in a location away from the city. One male subject did not allow his interview to be recorded. All but four of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the subjects. The exceptions were made at the request of the subjects, who found it more convenient to come to our office for their interviews.

The length of the actual interviews ranged from one to two hours; the majority, however, lasted one and a half hours or less.

First Mother Interviews were reviewed to produce written summaries that included (1) straightforward information about work history, and (2) verbatim quotes which reflected their interpretations and judgments on key issues. These summaries were prepared by each interviewer. Second Mother Interviews, which dealt mostly with feelings and perceptions about work and family life and their reciprocal influences, were transcribed in full. Father interviews were partly summarized in writing to include information about work history; the rest of the interview, dealing with family life and work and their reciprocal influences, were transcribed in full.

Both permanent staff members examined the transcripts for the first three families independently to produce a variety of ways in which the collected data could be organized. Re-examination of some of the basic theoretical issues we considered in the original proposal, combined with more recent insights generated when we reformulated problems and issues from a more "systems" perspective led to a coding scheme that was tried and refined in the early stages of analysis. Once consensus was achieved, the whole research team--including the two interviewers--agreed upon a concise set of coding categories designed to capture the essential data generated from all three interviews. The descriptive labels of the coding categories are included in Appendix D.

Interviewers coded their own interviews. In addition, WPP staff performed consistency checks; quality control was maintained through frequent consultation and staff review of the temporary interviewers' coding.

The coding system adopted encouraged the selection of full paragraphs relating to discrete events, anecdotes, reactions to and perceptions of events or conditions. When necessary, captions recorded the context in which a particular statement had been made, or the specific question or probe which preceded it. More than one code could be assigned to a particular event if it was judged to represent more than one of the dimensions of interest. No formal frequency counts of any given type of event or comment were made within interviews, although repetition was used as an indication of the salience of a given issue or condition to that person.

Once each interview had been coded and checked by WPP staff, it was retyped with the coded segments arranged sequentially for each code. Thus, all paragraphs pertinent to each code appeared together for each interview. The final product of this rearrangement and crunching of the interview data is a "Data Book" for each family containing all codes arranged by interview. There is a total of fifteen data books; the raw interview data is kept in bound volumes for easy reference as needed.

A total of 27 Work Environment Scales were filled out, while 28 Family Environment Scales were completed during this Phase. The Family Environment Scale and Work Environment Scale forms were scored, and those scores were transformed into Standard Scores using the tables provided by the instrument's developers. Data from each completed Scale was keypunched for input to a computer file. Data from the Family Environment Scale also produced a "family" score, computed by averaging the responses of both spouses.

d. Data Analysis

The preliminary analysis of Phase I data was presented in the Fourth Interim Report, Phase I, submitted to NIE on November 30, 1981. In that report, the Phase I sample was described in terms of age, length of marriage, number of children, education and income. The quantitative scales were used to compare characteristics of the jobs that men and women held. The responses of women in the jobs sampled (those listed in Table 1) indicated that overall, the work environment of all the jobs sampled from this workplace were significantly less desirable than the jobs used to develop the norms for this instrument by Moos and others (1974). Furthermore, a comparison between the responses of operators and service representatives, the two largest job groups, indicated differences on only two subscales. Compared to service representatives, operators reported greater "task orientation," described as "the extent to which the work climate emphasizes good planning and efficiency," and greater "clarity," described as "the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines." The more important subscale, "Autonomy," expected to detect differences between the two main jobs along that key sampling criterion, showed no differences between these two jobs. Husbands' jobs, on the other hand, were reported to be higher in autonomy than both the women's jobs and the average autonomy of jobs represented in the normative sample.

The lack of autonomy of these jobs was confirmed in the accounts obtained during the interviews. The uniformly high pressure experienced by these women was attributed to three main sources: (1) the highly structured and repetitive nature of the work tasks, (2) the fast and rigidly enforced pace of the work, and (3) the extremely close style of supervision which leaves them with almost no autonomy to make decisions and to organize the content of their work.

Two additional workplace characteristics were identified as important from the interviews. First, a uniformly rigid policy for short term leave, and strict enforcement of penalties for tardiness and unexcused leaves. These restricted the ability of these workers to respond to minor emergencies and needs of their families, and in particular their children. Second, the existence of various shifts and variable days off affected the participation of women in activities with their families. In some cases, the effect was favorable to their own family goals, such as having time to do household chores. In other cases, it prevented the family from spending significant events together, such as holidays and birthdays.

One of the criteria used to determine the relative "level" of the jobs sampled was that of starting salary. The actual salaries reported, however, were related to (1) how long she had worked for the company, (2) how long she had worked in her present job (her seniority), and (3) her willingness to work overtime when requested or to take days off without pay (and no penalty) when offered. The highest seniority workers in each unit have priority to take overtime during high activity periods or to stay home during low activity periods.

The preliminary analysis of the qualitative data using the first fifteen families focused on those segments coded as pertaining to Work/Family Interrelatedness. What emerged from that analysis was a working construct called "the image of the ideal family," or for short, the "family image." A systematic examination of the interviews for husbands and wives led to judgments as to whether or not a given couple shared a common family image. This was related to feelings expressed about the amount of time that parents should spend with their children, paternal participation in domestic chores and child care. These lines of inquiry were pursued with the Phase II sample and are discussed with more detail in the section on Findings.

The preliminary findings from both the quantitative and qualitative analyses of Phase I data led to some modifications in the procedures for Phase II, described below.

2. Phase II Procedures

a. Securing an Appropriate Sample of Families

Findings from Phase I indicated that the original sample design--which included "low" and "high" skilled jobs for a contrast in autonomy, supervision and wages within the workplace--was not successful. Although the jobs selected required different lengths of training to master the skills involved, they were all uniformly lacking in autonomy and under a similarly close style of supervision. Although the rate of pay varied some at the starting wages, the actual take home pay was controlled more by the women's willingness to work longer overtime hours or to take days off when available. In effect, the particular workplace chosen was characterized by a style of management and work organization wholly inimical to autonomy, self-direction, and independent decision-making--even for regular, routine, everyday activities. The jobs selected, with the exception of Senior Stenographer, are highly regimented, timed, paced and controlled.

These findings suggested the need to contrast the Phase I sample with workers drawn from a different kind of organization, one with contrasting management and personnel policies. Some of the sampling criteria suggested at that time included: (a) that we find, if possible, only one sufficiently large organization as the source for all Phase II subjects; (b) that this organization not be characterized by a style of management and supervision similar to the telephone company; and (3) that workers not be unionized. The workplaces considered at that time included federal and state offices, city and county offices, a large state university, and several area banks.

Several organizations were approached simultaneously. After several contacts, three seemed the best candidates. The first, a large financial institution, appeared to be the most homogeneous, drawing from a similar labor pool as that of the Phase I sample, but different from the telephone company in management style and family-relevant policies. Cooperation from management would enable us to locate an adequate number of subjects from the company's force of 350 full-time employees, the majority of them women. The second organization, a labor union, agreed to serve, if needed, as a back-up to complete the sample; its membership is made up of municipal, county and state agency workers. Also, a large downtown day care and nursery school serving primarily officer workers, many of them in financial institutions, agreed to provide access to their clients if needed; this is a fully accredited, non-profit, church-affiliated center. Finally, to be used as a last resource, a city-wide, non-profit child care referral service agreed to assist the Project in locating families.

The pursuit of contacts led to a series of letters, telephone calls and, finally, a meeting with the bank's personnel officer and the vice president in charge of personnel. They agreed to cooperate, and the personnel officer was charged with acting as liaison with Project staff. After additional meetings to determine the kinds of jobs to be included, the overall procedures were worked out. These procedures were essentially identical to those followed with the phone company sample, except that this time the contact person for referrals was the personnel officer rather than a union steward or a union vice president. Our personnel contact was asked to be extra careful not to seem to pressure any employee to participate. All subsequent contacts after the referral were handled by WPP staff; again, we kept to our policy of not informing our liaison of which employees declined or accepted participation.

When it became clear that one bank would not be sufficient to obtain all the sample families, contacts with two other banks were pursued, following identical procedures, until all 15 families had been recruited from three of the largest banks in the area.

The sample for Phase II is presented in Table 2. It should be noted here that there was a greater number of specific jobs represented in the banks sample. Unlike the telephone company, where jobs are clearly defined and the structure of jobs is designed to allow for transfers and promotions according to rules set forth in the collective bargaining agreement, the levels of jobs in banks are more relative. In some cases this is because the banks themselves are undergoing rapid growth and expansion. There is less clarity with respect to the criteria used to determine the wages; raises, promotions and transfers are totally under the control of supervisors and managers. The three levels presented in Table 2 are crude ways to group the jobs from three different banks; the unequal ethnic representation in the different levels of jobs in our sample will be discussed later in the section entitled "Working Conditions of Women."

b. Instruments and Research Staff Training

As a result of our experiences with the Phase I sample and the preliminary data analysis, some fine tuning was required for Phase II's interview schedules and the Work and Family Environment Scales. Several analyses of Phase I sample data indicated that using the Short Forms of the Work and Family Environment Scales, while saving time, had resulted in extremely low reliability estimates--particularly for the Family Environment Scale scores. Updated materials from the Scale's developers suggested the use of the full scales with the second sample. Since the first 40 items would remain the same, these items could still be used to compare samples should the full form's additional 50 items fail to result in a significant improvement.

Examination of Phase I data about parenting and socialization suggested that we incorporate a more standardized approach to the question of parental practices and values and the reasonings underlying those practices. Both the Second Mother Interview and the Father Interview were modified to add, at the end, five vignettes taken from a set of instruments used by a related project (see Final Interim Report, Southwest Parent Education Resource Center, December 1, 1981). These vignettes present the respondent with common parenting dilemmas and ask what she or he would do faced with those situations, how the participants might be thinking and feeling, and whether the respondent has had similar experiences. Phase II interview schedules are presented in Appendix E.

When Phase II data collection activities began, only the Black temporary interviewer who participated in Phase I was available to continue. A new Mexican American interviewer was then located and trained to use the revised interview schedules and procedures. A training sequence similar to Phase I's was used, including training interviews and collective listening and sessions in which the whole research team listened and commented on interviews with the revised schedules.

c. Data Collection and Storage

Data collection and storage procedures data were similar to those followed during Phase I. Two significant departures occurred mid-way through the data collection phase. First, it became clear that the vignettes, which had not been used in Phase I, often became a burden on the time available with the subjects. In consequence, it became a matter of interviewer discretion to use any or all the vignettes. The criteria used was whether or not the subject had provided data sufficient to allow researchers to infer parenting practices and values. Often, incidents similar to those presented in the vignettes had already been brought up and discussed. In those cases, the vignettes were judged to be unnecessary and were simply left out.

The second difference from Phase I procedure resulted from the departure of our Mexican American interviewer. Although when she was initially hired she told the staff she would be moving at the beginning of the summer, the data collection timetables projected indicated that there would be sufficient time for her to complete all interviews of Mexican American women. Because of unavoidable delays experienced in locating and committing the families, however, there was not sufficient time for her to complete the task. For that reason, the last three Mexican American families were interviewed by the Anglo research associate. Her bilingual skills were used mainly to establish rapport. All the interviews were conducted in English, as this was the preference of the respondents. There was no indication that the lack of ethnic match affected these subjects' willingness to discuss any subject matter.

The experience obtained during Phase I with coding and rearrangement of transcribed interview segments suggested a different strategy, one based on obtaining full transcripts of all interviews and then concentrating coding only on areas central to exploring some hypotheses which had emerged from Phase I data. The areas were: (1) key events of their work and family histories; (2) perceptions and influences of workplace policies, (3) interrelatedness of work and family; and (4) parenting/socialization practices and values. The information was summarized by the researchers for each family by coding categories; thus, the "data books" for this Phase contain the summaries of information sequentially for each of the fifteen families. In addition, full transcriptions of all interviews collected were available for quick reference.

During this Phase, a total of 44 interviews were conducted. Only one man declined to be interviewed; he was--according to his wife--simply too shy.

d. Data Analysis

The analysis of Phase II data examined the effects of those selected workplace policies and practices identified in Phase I, and contrasted the two samples in terms of effects of those policies on the families. Attention has been given to comparisons between Phase I and Phase II workplaces and families, among the three ethnic groups, and among other groupings suggested by data on some ways in which these families have adapted to their dual earner condition.

Before presenting the findings, a brief summary of some significant problems encountered during data collection is necessary. The implications of these problems for the interpretation of findings is also discussed.

3. Data Collection Problems, Solutions, and Implications for Analysis

Phase I's CWA officials who provided referrals found to their surprise that the actual pool of eligible subjects was more restricted than they had anticipated. As time passed and no new referrals were obtained, the sample requirements and plan were revised. Three strategies were used: (1) families who had already been interviewed at the start of the data collection cycle were asked to be used as references with other prospective participants. Project staff felt that the best person to explain the project and to break down the natural hesitation to participate would be one who had already participated and could attest to the accuracy of staff descriptions of the study. (2) As an added effort to locate and recruit subjects, we decided to ask former participants to actively seek out potential subjects from among their co-workers, since CWA officers often did not know about the family status of their members and thus could not judge their eligibility for the sample. (3) The sampling restrictions imposed at the start of the study were relaxed, and some cases that were somewhat different from the rest of the sample were included.

The relaxed criteria are most evident in the Black sample, where the greatest delay and difficulty in recruiting and committing subjects was experienced. Either the number of Black telephone company employees in the particular job categories sampled is relatively small, and/or the rate of divorce among those employees is relatively high. The reduced pool of available Black families not only forced us to include families which did not meet our ideal sampling criteria, but it may also have led us to include families with more evident internal conflict than the remainder of the sample. As a result, three of the five Black families contained at least one previously divorced spouse. Only one of those families had dependent step-children living in the home, but another had only a three year old child, younger than our stated preference for school age children.

To summarize, the deviations from our proposed sample characteristics in terms of marital history and ages of children for the Phase I sample are as follows: (1) One Anglo family had a one and a half year old only child. This couple was younger than the rest of the sample, had been married a shorter time, reported a lower income and was the only family in this Phase that did not own a home. (2) One Black family was a blended family consisting of a widower with two teenaged children, married to a twice-divorced woman with one school aged child. There were no children from the current marriage, which is recent. (3) One Black family had a three year old child, which is younger than the preferred school age. In addition, the father had been married before and had a daughter living with his former wife. (4) Another Black father had been married previously and had two teenaged children living in town with their mother. He declined to participate in the study, blaming his unavailability on overtime and part time work; so it was decided that two interviews with the mother were better than being short one Black family, and even though data on this family are incomplete, both of this mother's interviews were used in the analysis. (5) In one Black family the father completed only the Family Environment Scale, while his wife neither completed nor returned either Scale. (6) One Black father consented to be interviewed but not taped, and he did not return the Work Environment Scale. (Thus, only 27 Work Environment Scales and 28 Family Environment Scales were collected.) (7) No Black semi-skilled worker who met the sample specifications could be located. Thus, for the Black sample, two high skilled and three unskilled worker families were selected. It should be pointed out that every effort was made to locate and commit subjects who met the original specifications. But as a last resort, and as we were faced with deadlines, those requirements were relaxed.

During the Phase II data collection, the following departures from the original plan were made: (1) One Anglo family had been married only two years, and the school age daughter was actually the wife's by a previous marriage. This fact did not emerge until the first interview with the mother was well underway. Data collection was completed with the expectation that it would not be used should time allow the recruitment of another family. Again, time forced us to include this family. (2) One Mexican American family had a severely handicapped child. Again, this fact did not emerge until the interviews were underway. (3) One Mexican American father declined

TABLE 1

SAMPLE CONFIGURATION: PHASE I TELEPHONE COMPANY SAMPLE

(N =15)

JOBS BY LEVEL OF PAY, COMPLEXITY OF TASKS, AND RESPONSIBILITY:	ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK	TOTAL
HIGH LEVEL: Marketing Representative Service Representative	2	2	2	6
MEDIUM LEVEL: Senior Stenographer	1	1	-	2
LOW LEVEL: Service Order Writer Telephone Operator	2	2	3	7
TOTAL	5	5	5	15

TABLE 2

SAMPLE CONFIGURATION: PHASE II BANKS SAMPLE

(N =15)

JOBS BY LEVEL OF PAY, COMPLEXITY OF TASKS, AND RESPONSIBILITY	ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK	TOTAL
HIGH LEVEL: Assistant, Loan Department Secretary to V.P.'s Technician, Accounting	4	1	-	5
MEDIUM LEVEL: Clerk in Deposits Clerk in Wire Transfers Lobby Teller Unit Supervisor	1	2	1	4
LOW LEVEL: Clerks,various departments Machine Operators Collections, Mail	-	2	4	6
TOTAL	5	5	5	15

to be interviewed. Unlike the Phase I Black father who also refused to be interviewed, this man was--according to his wife--simply too shy. The Hispanic researcher offered to conduct the interview in Spanish, but that didn't seem to be a factor. Faced with a relative scarcity of suitable families, we decided to proceed with this family even though the data would be incomplete. (4) One Black family, also included, had a teenaged stepson from the wife's previous marriage. (5) Finally, job levels among the three ethnic groups were unevenly distributed. Anglo women were overrepresented among the higher level bank jobs, with the consequent underrepresentation of minorities in that category, and vice versa.

We do not have data on the number or placement of minority female employees in the bank jobs from which we sampled. Therefore, this underrepresentation of minorities in the middle and top level non-exempt jobs in our sample may not reflect such underrepresentation with the particular banks sampled. Certainly we received refusals to participate from minority females in higher level positions. Nevertheless, the tendency for minority females to be overrepresented in lower level jobs is consistent with U. S. labor market figures in general (United States Commission on Civil Rights, November 1982).

What are the implications of the compromises we were forced to make in our attempt to match families with respect to the general type of jobs held by the mothers and according to specified criteria of family size and structure? The answer to that question is closely related to the nature and purpose of the study.

The study was intended from its inception to be an in-depth exploration of some major theoretical issues in the literature on work/family relationships, specifically these issues related to dual-earner families.

We pointed out in the Introduction that research on "working women," "working mothers," "dual-earner couples," etc. consistently operationalizes the salaried work of females as absence from the home and seldom explores the jobs of either spouse beyond distinguishing the jobs according to standardized measurements of socio-economic status, such as the job's prestige level and its salary. By questioning the assumptions built into these measurements (i.e., that they best indicate class position and therefore they are the most important influences on people's personal lives), the study has obviated the necessity to "control for SES" in the traditional sense. Rather, it has attempted to control for other aspects of the women's jobs, aspects hypothesized to have important effects on her and her family's adaptation to both parents' full-time work outside the home. It was impractical--given our sampling method--to attempt to control in the same manner for the nature of the husbands'/fathers' working situation. Therefore, the traditional indicator of a family's SES, the husband's job status, was not controlled. The types of jobs held by the fathers in our sample's 30 families include middle level management jobs in the public and private sectors, as well as skilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs; the annual salaries of the husbands range from a low of $10,000 to a high of $36,000.

It was pointed out in the Introduction that dual-earner families challenge the traditional assumption that the husband's job status and income level are the appropriate measure of a family's socio-economic status. Rather, as the work of Oppenheimer (1977) and others suggests, advances in both theory and method require that we research such issues as the relationship between the nature of spouses' jobs and their relative contribution to the total family income. These issues should be the subject of research and not simply buried in the assumptions built into the measurements used. By opting to sample through as few mothers' workplaces and job types as possible, we have attempted to maintain the homogeneity of the jobs and workplace policies of the female workers across ethnic groups. In exchange, we have been forced to include some families and workers which did not meet our ideal sampling criteria.

The most significant compromise in terms of the women's jobs has been that in the Phase II sample of female bank employees, Anglo women occupy the higher levels of non-exempt jobs (for example, executive secretary or accounting technician) while the minority employees work in lower level jobs, in particular the Black females (for example, bookkeeping clerk or mail teller clerk).

In terms of family characteristics, the Phase I sample included two families--one Anglo and one Black--who had no elementary school aged child. In both cases their single child was younger and not yet in kindergarten. For three cases (one Black Phase I family, one Black Phase II family and one Anglo Phase II family) we included participants who were in their second marriage and whose households included children from a previous union.

As we point out in the Description of the Sample (Section 1), however, the presence of step-children does not occur more often in Phase I or Phase II samples. There are more families in the Phase II sample whose oldest child is a teenager, and we have taken this difference between the comparison groups into account at appropriate places within the analysis.

These and other compromises we were forced to make with our ideal sample criteria have had the effect of reducing the homogeneity within and between our Phase I and Phase II samples or comparison groups. This, of course, has complicated the analysis of patterns of relationships between variables and required us to exercise caution in our discussion of relationships between workplace policies and family dynamics by considering alternative explanations simultaneously. In addition, we have expanded our analysis to include family and work histories with the aim of clarifying some of the contrasting responses distinguishing Phase I and Phase II parents. In so doing, we have gained additional insights into the dynamic and reciprocal nature of employment experiences and family lives.

At the same time that we caution the reader about the generalizability of the findings due to both the small sample size and the sampling compromises made, we should also stress the advantages of these compromises. They have resulted in a sample which more accurately reflects the realities of family relationships in America, wherein an increasingly large percentage of dual-earner families include children from a previous marriage. The fact that minority females in the Phase II bank employee sample tend to occupy lower level jobs than Anglos reflects this same tendency nationally; it thereby allows us to discuss more accurately the circumstances influencing families from the three ethnic backgrounds than if we were to strive for a hypothetical "all things being equal" and control for such differences by sampling more selectively.

In summary, the research has evolved into a comparative exploratory study of the responses of thirty families--all generally at the same stage of their family cycle and representing three ethnic backgrounds--to the employment of the wives in jobs requiring no more than a high school education within two types of businesses: (1) a large telephone company where the jobs sampled are under the control of a collective contract negotiated by a union--CWA; and (2) three large banks, each with over 300 employees, in which the non-exempt "non-professional" jobs sampled are not unionized.

This study was designed to expand the framework of research on the reciprocal influences between work and family life from the perspective of families in which both husband and wife are full-time workers. There are enough differences between the two types of workplaces selected, as will be discussed in detail later, to permit the exploration of how some workplace policies influence family life. Evidence has also been gathered on how intra-family processes have affected, over time, the working careers and decisions of men and women in the sample.

Presentation of the findings has been organized into five sections: (1) a general description of the sample; (2) general work conditions of women; (3) work and family histories; (4) work and family environments as assessed by the quantitative scales administered; and (5) interrelatedness of work and family.

C. FINDINGS

1. Description of The Sample

The 30 families included in this study all had full-time working mothers and fathers and dependent children living at home. They were all nuclear family households; in only one case was there an additional relative living in the home. The families were selected through the mothers' place of employment. This resulted in two phases: Phase I of the study, which included women who worked for the telephone company; and Phase II, which included women working at three large banks. Given our sampling procedure, the husbands' occupations could not be controlled without placing excessive restrictions on eligibility for the study.

a. Women's Jobs and Education

The women's jobs represented in the phone company sample (Phase I) included: (1) Service Representative, (2) Market Representative, (3) Senior Stenographer, (4) Service Order Writer, and (5) Telephone Operator. These jobs represent decreasing levels of skill and are fairly evenly distributed among the women's three ethnic groups (Anglo, Mexican American and Black). All the women selected for the study have "craft" jobs, defined by exclusion as being non-supervisory, non-management jobs; these jobs are covered by the company/CWA contract.

The women interviewed in this phase of the study had been working for this company from two to 16 years--in most cases continually except for maternity leave interruptions. The median length of service was ten years, and the median length of service in their present classification was six years.

The educational levels of these women revealed no large differences among the three ethnic groups. Only one woman, a Black, had a baccalaureate degree. Five women reported no education beyond high school, and the rest have from half a year to one and a half years of business college, community college or junior college courses. Frequencies are presented in Table 3.

The women's jobs represented in the sample from the three banks (Phase II) varied much more, reflecting a diversity of operations of banks as workplaces. All the jobs selected, however, are so-called "non-exempt," which is a category similar to "craft" at the phone company; one of the chief characteristics of these jobs is that the workers holding them qualify for overtime wages when they exceed the specified number of regular hours. The jobs sampled included: (1) secretaries to vice presidents; (2) accounting technician; (3) clerk in Wire Transfer Department; (4) teller, (5) bookkeeper supervisor; (6) machine operator; and (7) clerks in various departments or divisions. These jobs represent three separate banks which are organized somewhat differently and are at different stages of growth. The banks' job classifications are not uniform; the jobs are listed here in a crude order of skill levels and autonomy. Unlike the women from the phone company, the women holding these jobs, at least in the three banks in our sample, are not equally distributed in terms of ethnicity among these jobs; Anglo women tended to occupy the higher level jobs, while Black women tended to occupy the lower level jobs.

In contrast to the phone company women, the women at the banks had been in their present jobs for no more than four years; nine had been in their jobs for two years or less. The longest time that anybody in the sample had worked at a bank continously was nine years, most of it spent in

TABLE 3

WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

(N=30)

		ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK
TELEPHONE COMPANY WOMEN	High School Diploma Only	2	2	1
	Some College*	3	3	3
	College Degree**	-	-	1

		ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK
BANKS WOMEN	High School Diploma Only	3	4	4
	Some College*	2	1	1
	College Degree**	-	-	-

* Primarily Business and Community/Junior Colleges

** Four Year Baccalaureate Degree or Higher relatively low level clerical jobs. There was a great disparity in the level of the jobs and salaries of the women sampled. Anglo women tended to be in higher level secretarial positions or in positions dealing face to face with the public, while the minority women tended to have lower level jobs, dealing either with machines, documents or people on the phone.

Four Anglo women had from one to three years of education beyond high school. The only exception was a woman who had worked for other banks before relocating in the city. Among the minority women, in contrast, only two out of ten reported one year of post-high school education, and only one of these had a relatively higher level job. This woman came from a much higher level job in a small town bank which she left when her husband was transferred to the city.

b. Men's Jobs and Education

The husbands' jobs in the Phase I sample included: (1) managers with 15 or more people under them, (2) educational consultant at a state agency, (3) supervisors with less than 15 people under them, (4) self-employed small businessman, (5) members of the Armed Forces, (6) civil service clerks, and (7) skilled craftsmen.

The husbands' jobs in the Phase II sample included: (1) operations managers (second in line) in large department stores, (2) electronics technician, (3) self-employed small businessman, (4) supervisor in a privately-operated mental health institution, (5) law enforcement agents, (6) career non-commissioned officers in the Armed Forced, (7) skilled craftsmen, and (8) warehouse/stock clerks.

Men in both samples held a great variety of occupations. Few clear patterns are evident. In the first year sample, three of the five Anglo men were in managerial/supervisory positions, although the nature of who or what they managed varied greatly: one managed several crews that repair or maintain telephone company installations and equipment; another oversaw a group of professional real estate appraisers; a third was responsible for the inventory and one clerk in the parts and accessories section of a retail store. The other two Anglo men had skilled trades; one had learned through apprenticeship with his father and the other in technical short courses in a branch of the Armed Forces. In contrast, two Anglo males in the second year sample (Phase II) held jobs in law enforcement, requiring specialized training; these were careers through which these individuals had moved in steps. One had a specialized job in spite of his relatively low rank, due to a brief interruption in his career in which he lost the rank and seniority achieved in almost ten years of work. The other three Anglo men held jobs as a manager, a technician, and an owner/operator of a small business. Men's educational levels are presented in Table 4.

Four Phase I Mexican Americans, on the other hand, had relatively high educational levels and held professional, managerial or clerical jobs. The only one without a college degree was a skilled printer employed by a federal agency at union-level wages. In contrast, all but one of the Mexican American males in the second year sample held relatively low skilled jobs. One was a manager in a large department store; the rest had semi-skilled jobs, such as painter and tile installer, or low level stock clerk jobs.

Three Black men in the first year sample had skilled jobs; two were telephone company repairmen and one was a mechanic in one of the Armed Forces. The others included a first level (shift) supervisor in an electronics firm and a construction inspector for the city. In comparison,

TABLE 4

MEN'S EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

(N=30)

		ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY EMPLOYEES' HUSBANDS	High School Diploma Only	2	1	1
	Some College*	2	-	4
	College Degree**	1	4	-

		ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK
BANKS EMPLOYEES' HUSBANDS	High School Diploma Only	1	1	3
	Some College*	3	4	1
	College Degree**	1	-	1

* Primarily Business and Community/Junior College

** Four Year Baccalaureate Degree of Higher two Phase II Black men were career military non-commissioned officers with office jobs, and a third man was a mental health program supervisor/administrator. Another Black man was a short (day) haul refrigerated truck driver for a frozen foods distributor, and the fifth serviced vending machines as an employee of a small company.

Overall, the greatest contrast was between Phase I and Phase II Mexican American men, both in their educational level and in the nature of their jobs.

c. Family Characteristics

In general, the total sample is fairly homogeneous in terms of the demographic variables of interest. All but two couples were in their late twenties to late thirties. These exceptions were a very young couple in their early twenties and one couple of forty-year-olds. Two other men were in their forties but were married to women about ten years younger. Twenty-five of the thirty couples had been married between eight and sixteen years, with a median of about eleven years. The number of children ranged from one to four. Five families had one child, thirteen had two children, ten had three, and only two families had four. Two women were expecting a child during the time of the study, one in the first phase and one in the second; in both cases, their families will increase from two to three children.

There were no systematic differences between phases or among the three ethnic groups in the genders of the children; there were overall more boys (41 boys to 29 girls).

All but two families had at least one elementary school aged child living in the home. This was one of the main criteria specified for this sample. The two exceptions, both in Phase I, were included when no other suitable family of their ethnic and job characteristics could be located within the time allocated for data collection.

Of the 28 families who had elementary school children, only one family had three children in that age range (it included a pair of twins); twelve had two children in that age range; and fifteen had only one. Nine of the twelve families with two elementary school aged children were in the First Phase sample, while eleven of the fifteen families with only one elementary school aged child were in the Phase II sample.

There was no pattern of gender distribution among these elementary school aged children, either between phases or among ethnic groups, with only one exception: all the Black elementary school aged children in Phase II were boys. The twelve families who had two children in that age range were distributed as follows: eight were boy/girl combinations, three were both boys and one was both girls.

While two families had an only child of preschool age, twelve other families had preschool aged children in addition to their elementary school aged children. Black families are overrepresented in this group (seven of the ten Black families had preschoool children).

Six Phase II families had teenaged children, compared to only one such family in Phase I. Only one of these families with a teenager also had a preschool aged child. The presence of teenaged children in the Phase II families occurs equally among the three ethnic groups.

Another sampling criterion advanced at the beginning of the study was that spouses be in their first marriage so that there be no step-children living in the home. It was assumed that step relationships could complicate family dynamics. An attempt was made to avoid including step-families. While we were largely successful, there were some exceptions. Three families, two Black and one Anglo, included a step child. Two other Black men had been married before for a short period of time and had one and two children, respectively, who did not reside with them. Finally, in one Anglo family both spouses had been married briefly before but had had no children from those unions.

The great majority of individuals and couples in the sample are originally from Texas and most have lived most of their adult lives in the state and in the city. Of the five families that included an out-of-state member, four had been brought to the city by military transfers, including the only two families in which both spouses were from out of state. In most of the couples, at least one spouse--and often both--had been raised in a small town. Of the thirty families, 22 fell into this category: seven Mexican American couples, eight Anglo couples, and seven Black couples. Most of the respondents from the city grew up there, and many of the small town reared spouses had come from nearby towns and were married to residents of the city. Six individuals grew up in another city, less than 100 miles away.

The majority of the families were living within the city limits; only seven families lived in areas outside the city limits. The children attended schools in their respective districts. Three families sent their children to a private Catholic school downtown.

Only five families were not home owners; two of these lived in military housing, one in public housing subsidized by the city on a sliding scale, and two others in rented apartments. The houses owned by the rest of the families ranged from two-bedroom frame houses in lower income, predominantly Black and Mexican American neighborhoods, to one ranch-style suburban house on a three-acre lot. In general, the houses and furnishings reflected the relative income level of the families.

d. Income

The importance of the income generated by the working mothers in the study is clear in the data presented in Figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 presents family income figures for the total sample. It is important to note that the figures have not been adjusted to take inflation into account. Income reported by Phase I (1981 sample families) was their total 1980 income. Likewise, in Phase II (1982 sample families) the income reported was for 1981. Individual annual income for the women ranged from $9,000 to $21,000 with a median of $16,000 for the phone company workers, and from $8,000 to $16,000 with a median of $12,000 for the bank workers. For the men, it ranged from $12,000 to to $36,000 with a median of $18,000 for the Phase I sample, and from $9,000 to $35,000 with a median of $15,000 for the husbands in the Phase II sample. Overall, as these figures indicate, husbands tended to have better paying jobs than their wives. The one exception was that Mexican American women working for the phone company had incomes as high or higher than their husbands. This was due to the relatively high seniority of this group of women, which not only increased their base rate, but also gave them priority for working overtime at higher rates. Furthermore, the benefits (such as health and dental insurance, company stock and retirement plans) that phone company employees had won through collective bargaining made their total contribution of resources even more important to the family's financial stability. This pronounced effect held even among Phase I Mexican American families, where fathers, as a group, had the highest educational level of the whole sample.

Figure 1

Total Family Annual Income

MEANS FOR 3 ETHNIC GROUPS IN PHASE I (1980) and PHASE II (1981)

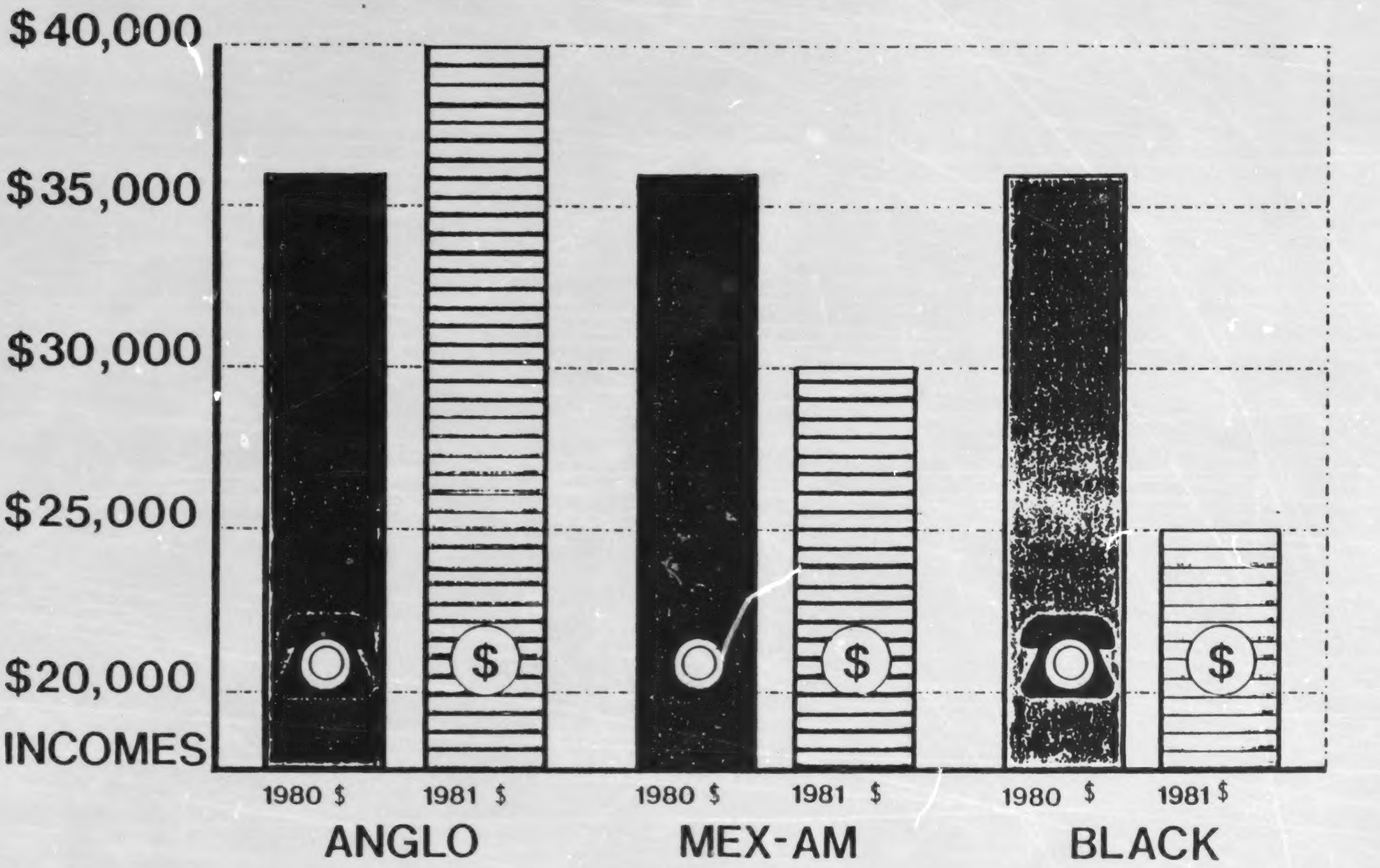
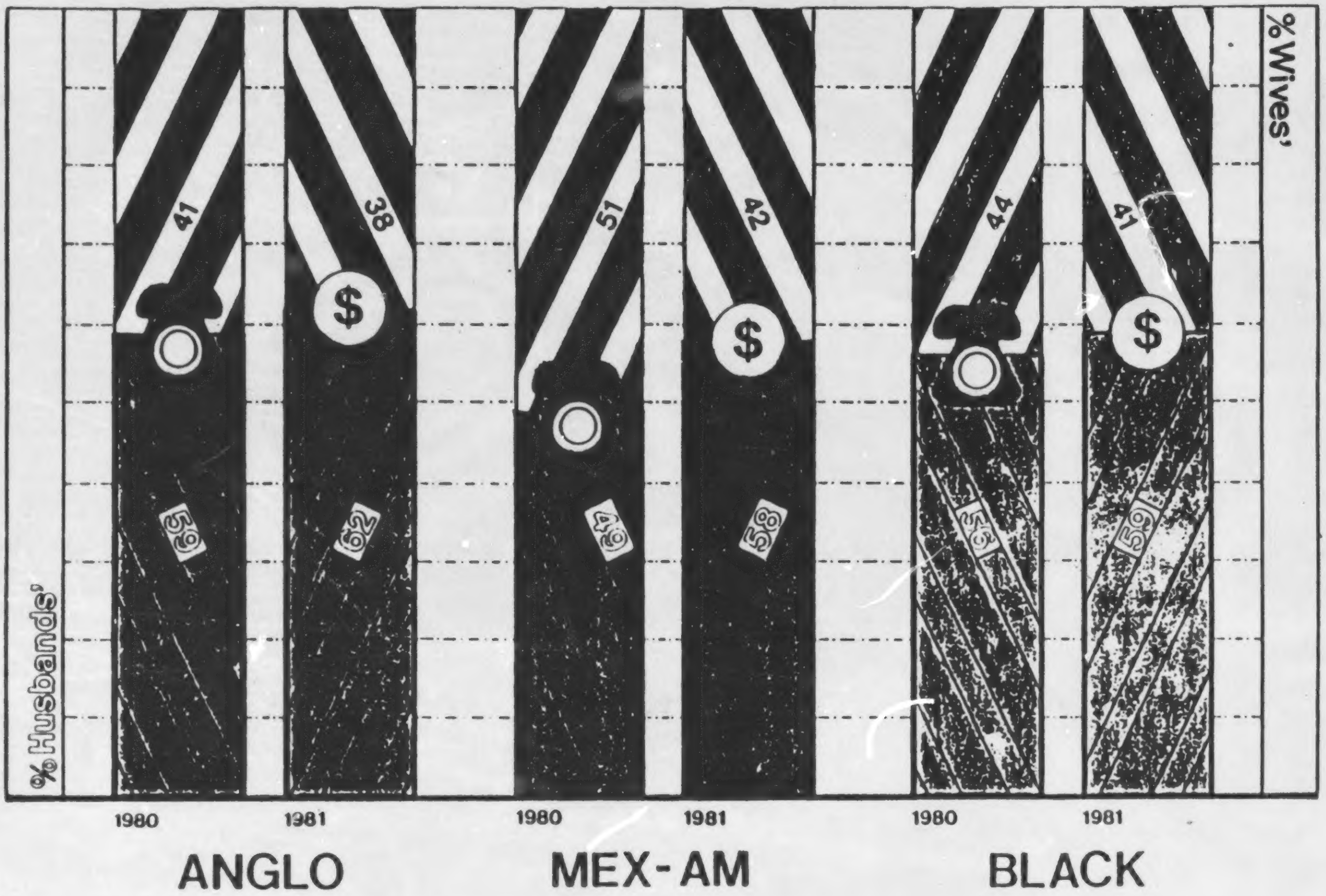


Figure 2

Wives' Contribution to Total Family Income



Overall, Phase I families had higher income levels than those in Phase II, even though their incomes are reported in 1980 dollars. Were these figures adjusted for inflation, the real difference in buying power would show even more dramatically.

The importance of both samples' wives' income is readily apparent. For the Phase I sample, data reveal virtually no differences in total family income between the three ethnic groups; the wives' income had a leveling effect on the disparities in the husbands' income. For the Phase II sample, however, a wide disparity between the three ethnic groups persisted, a disparity which reflects in part the overall population distribution of income as well as the relatively low salaries of bank employees, compounded by the fact that Anglo women tended to have better paying jobs and Black women tended to have the lowest paying jobs. This seems to reflect a lingering unequal distribution of opportunities--assuming that the employees and jobs sampled from the banks reflect the ethnic breakdown of the banks' and the city's female labor force. Yet, despite these limitations, minority women still tended to contribute substantially more than their Anglo counterparts to total family income, as shown in Figure 2.

These two graphs were used by project staff for a presentation of findings at an October, 1982, meeting of the National Council on Family Relations in Washington, D.C. The original graphs are color coded.

e. Education and Income

Another element related to income is education. The samples targeted occupations which did not require more than a high school education. In fact, 14 of the 30 women reported no more than high school education, compared with only six of the 30 men. Only one woman had a baccalaureate degree, completed after she had started working for the phone company. The degree resulted not in a promotion but rather in a transfer to an area slightly more related to her business degree. In comparison, seven men held college degrees, including two with masters degrees and one with two baccalaureate degrees. The rest of the sample reported varying amounts of post-high school education in business colleges, community colleges and junior colleges.

Overall, then, men had not only had more schooling than women, but also tended to have larger individual incomes. Correlation coefficients between education and income were computed for various groups and for the total sample. These correlations are presented in Table 5. The relationships between income and education are complex, and cannot be explained simply in terms of individuals. In several instances, it was the higher income of the lower educated women that made it possible for the husband to increase his education and his income. At this intermediate range of education and income, a very small proportion of the variance is accounted for by these correlations. Phase I women's salaries did not correlate with education. For the men, those with degrees tended to work in mid-management within public agencies, where salaries were equal to or even below those of two telephone repairmen with eight years' seniority. In fact, three of the four highest individual Phase I men's salaries were made by phone company male employees with no more than a year of education beyond high school. In terms of men's salaries in our first year sample, those men making union wages fared as well or better than those with college degrees.

In the Phase II sample, Anglo women, most in higher level positions, tended to earn larger salaries and to report some schooling beyond high

TABLE 5

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION BETWEEN YEARS OF EDUCATION AND ANNUAL INDIVIDUAL INCOME IN THOUSANDS BY PHASE AND GENDER

	MALES	FEMALES	(BOTH)
PHASE I PHONE COMPANY FAMILIES	.13 (n=15)	.00 (n=15)	.13 (n=30)
PHASE II BANK FAMILIES	.50 (n=15)	.59 (n=15)	.50 (n=30)
BOTH	.39 (n=30)	.34 (n=30)	.47 (n=60)

school. Among the men, the two highest salaries were reported by second highest managers in two very similar large department stores. One had started as a management trainee while still in college, while the other started from the bottom at a different large chain of retail stores. Both men had worked their way up the corporate ladder, had their share of transfers and promotions, and eventually have reached similar positions through alternative routes. The other man with a college degree was a Black who, after graduating from a small Black college 19 years ago, could not find a decent job; he had begun a career in the armed forced and achieved the rank of Master Sergent. When interviewed, he was one year away from retirement.

In summary, despite difficulties encountered with the sampling method the families included in the study were relatively homogeneous. They tended to fall into the late twenties-early thirties age group; to fall into approximately the same stage of the family cycle, in that they had an elementary school aged child at home and had been married approximately the same amount of time; and to generally have three or fewer children. Rural-versus-city backgrounds were similar across ethnic groups and most of the families shared Texas origins. Differences which must be attended to in the analysis are: a greater tendency for Black families to have a pre-school aged child in addition to the elmentary school aged child; and the greater number of families with teenagers in Phase II.

A workplace-related difference most relevant to this study was the tendency for Phase II Mexican American and Black women to have lower level, lower paying jobs than the Anglo women in the same sample. As discussed earlier in this report, these differences are consistent with data on the U. S. work force in general (see Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon, 1972;

United States Commission on Civil Rights, November 1982). The result is that these data become part of the analysis rather than impeding it--just as do general family income differences between Phases I and II. Again, by analyzing these case studies of families of women who work under different types of workplace policies, it is possible to concentrate on the complex relationships between jobs and parental roles in the home; data collected can help us advance understanding of ways in which husbands' and wives' jobs influence over time the negotiation of these roles, and how families influence the work life of their members.

2. General Work Conditions of Women

a. Phase I - Telephone Company Employees

Job features most often discussed by the respondents as having a clear effect on their family (whether direct or indirect) included both positive and negative aspects. They were: (1) management style; (2) leave policies; (3) work schedules; and (4) salary and benefits.

(1) Management Style

One of the most salient aspects of current employment experiences among women in the Phase I sample was the high pressured nature of their jobs. The pressure seemed to be less significant for those two women in the "semi-skilled" category of jobs more akin to clerical positions. However, for the Operators, Service Order Writers, and Service Representatives, the pressure seemed to come from three main sources: (1) the highly structured and repetitive nature of the work tasks; (2) the fast and rigidly enforced pace of the work; (3) the extremely close style of supervision of the workers, leaving them with--officially--almost no autonomy in decision-making and no control over the organization or content of their work.

The women reported that their jobs with the telephone company are structured as follows. Operators take one call after another all day, using phrases and even voice tones which are prescribed, at a pace determined by a computer, and with pressure to take a minimum number of calls per set time limit. Service Representatives, higher paid and more skilled workers requiring at least three months training, answer the telephone to take orders and/or complaints about service, provide information about services and try to sell new services, in call after call in blocks of time throughout the day, at a fast and equally rigidly controlled pace, using predetermined phrases, and under pressure to meet sales quotas and handle a minimum number of calls per set unit of time.

Since none of these jobs are supervisory, the company's policy--according to our respondents--is that workers must consult with their immediate supervisors when there is a decision to be made about procedure on a customer contact, record keeping, etc. Both Operators and Service Representatives attributed additional frustration and pressure to the common occurrence of supervisors who are either uninformed or unavailable. This appears to be related to the generally negative emotional effects of the lack of autonomy and control described by respondents.

The emotional stress which their job placed on most of the women interviewed (reported in 13 out of 15 cases) attests to its importance. Furthermore, this stress was so extreme that most of them were aware of it as having had a negative influence on their behavior at home. How their families adapted to it and the women's own coping mechanisms constituted one of the main foci of the interviews.

The women reported possibilities for job mobility due to ease of transfer between the "craft" jobs. The most common transfers are simply changes in location from one unit or plant to another within Texas. Other changes are "lateral transfers" that involve changes not in salary, but in job functions, schedules and seniority. The seniority system determines, among other things, the order in which employees in a given unit are allowed priority over the most desirable vacation times, schedules. and other forms of leave without pay. Salary increases are automatic and are determined by the overall contractual conditions negotiated every three years by the union.

In addition to lateral transfers, craft workers can request promotions and transfers to higher classified and more highly paid jobs. Those transfers and promotions are determined by ratings of efficiency and attendance, and by recommendations from supervisors and managers. Supervisory personnel can be either selected from the ranks of the craft employees or hired directly from the outside, with no control from the union. Some jobs require aptitude tests, and in most cases there is formal training which may vary in length according to the complexity of the new functions. In addition, frequent changes in the job procedures and new equipment require retraining of the job incumbents. In some cases training involves travel to a different city for a limited period of time.

The reasons given by most respondents for not transferring or being promoted into better-paying "outside" jobs, such as repair or installation, or into supervisory positions centered around the dangers or discomforts of the former and the further responsibilities and pressures of the latter.

(2) Leave Policies

The Phase I women said another policy increasing pressure on them is a strict enforcement of penalties for tardiness; a small number of late arrivals will be placed on a worker's record. Furthermore, no more than three or four sick days are considered acceptable per year. After this, leave taken for short illnesses weighs negatively on employees' records; it can be used to deny them promotion and transfer opportunities, or even to build a case for dismissal.

Difficulties encountered by most workers in getting time off to meet the everyday needs of their children was one of the problems most often mentioned by women interviewed. In particular, difficulties in getting time off when children are sick or need to go to the doctor was mentioned when women were asked specifically about the company's leave policies. Although respondents reported some flexibility on leave, left to the discretion of supervisors, this issue was uniformly considered to be a major problem for the families.

On the other hand, most women were appreciative of the six weeks paid maternity leave. Some cited examples of children born before this policy was instituted (through the union's efforts) and the problems created by much longer leaves without pay. If they could afford to, most women took a longer leave than the paid period of six weeks, indicating the importance to them of time at home with newborn children.

No major complaints about the vacation leave policies were expressed. The telephone company gives one week accrued vacation after six months of service and as high as four weeks paid vacation a year. Because of high seniority, most mothers in the sample were able to choose when and for how long to take their vacation time, which allowed vacation to coincide with major events in their children's or families' calendars. The possibility of breaking up vacation into several short leaves appeared convenient to the sampled mothers; this allowed them to take time to meet their special personal or family-related needs.

(3) Work Schedules

Two issues of work hours scheduling were important to the telephone company women interviewed, and both issues had the greatest impact on the

Operators. The first was the availability of various shifts and the second was the determination of days off.

Irregular hour shifts were often reported to be a major problem in the families' lives, either because the mothers worked evenings and seldom saw their families, or because they had had to leave or pass up more desirable positions in order to get out of irregular (non 8 to 5) schedules. A regular schedule was the main reason given by several women for having moved into the Service Representative position, one which is strictly regular business hours.

The inconvenience caused by the irregular schedule, however, appeared to be related to the age of a woman's children and/or the willingness of her husband to care for them during her absence. One family found the "split shift" arrangement to be an advantage; she could be home with their child part of the day and leave the child in the father's care during the early evening.

The women's second major concern with work schedules was the "days off" policy for Operators. In the phone company, Operators' days off are determined bi-weekly by a computer, taking into account the available work force and the expected demands for service. This results in a near random pattern of days off, which can come at any time during the week. In consequence, families, and especially the adults, cannot plan in advance to attend events; those activities that can be arranged have to be planned with only one week's advance notice. One couple in the sample complained of not having had a weekend off together in eight years, due to her operator schedule and the overtime demands of his job. Others spoke of frequent arguments with husbands concerning which parent should try to get out of work to care for the children on weekends. Finally, some mentioned the loss of regular contact with friends and relatives because of the difficulty of attending and planning social events around their irregular days off.

(4) Salaries and Benefits

Virtually all the Phase I women cited good salaries and benefits as their primary reason for remaining with the telephone company. The majority of the men and women interviewed gave much credit for their comfortable income levels to the wives' good salaries and benefits. This was more consistently the feeling of the minority parents, which suggests a greater awareness of the negative effects of poverty on families. The minority parents often expressed the opinion that the advantages of having good jobs and sufficient income improved their family lives and enhanced their children's opportunities for the future.

Both spouses in all the telephone company families named salaries and benefits as the most desirable aspect of the wives' jobs. The wages at the time of this phase of the study (March through August, 1981) ranged from a low of $700 a month for a beginning Operator to a high of $1,584 for a Service Representative with four years' seniority. The top salary for an Operator with four years' seniority was $1,388, only $196 less per month than the higher classified Service Representative job. These scales are negotiated every three years in collective bargaining between the company and the Communications Workers of America, and are subject to an annual readjustment between contracts. In effect, the actual salary that workers make is determined (1) by their willingness and/or availability to work overtime when they want and/or when the company needs them (at overtime rates), (2) by their willingness to take leave without pay during low demand periods, (3) by their seniority, and (4) by their job classification.

b. Phase II - Bank Employees

The discussion of work conditions for the Phase II women are more difficult to explain in straightforward terms than those of Phase I women. First, there are major differences in the organization and nature of the work done by phone company craft workers and that done by non-exempt* staff in large banks. Second, the women in the Phase II sample work in three different banks.

After interviewing personnel officers at all three banks about the relevant policies and practices, it was clear to Project staff that there are differences among the three regarding several policies. For example, only two of the three personnel officers said their banks post jobs and job descriptions internally so that employees can determine whether or not they would be interested in or qualify for open positions. At the time of our interviews, the third bank retained a more informal system of word-of-mouth among supervisors and a great dependence on the personnel officers' knowledge of staff. Posting was scheduled to begin at the beginning of 1983 in this bank. Two of the personnel officers indicated a more flexible approach to short-term leave for family or other personal reasons than did a third officer.

Despite these overall bank policy differences, interviewed workers indicated that management of individual employees depended largely on a worker's own immediate or second level supervisor and on her type of job. Because of great diversity in the interviewed women's jobs, it has been difficult to discern policy differences between the banks when looking at individual cases. This diversity also accounts, in part, for the problem of generalizing about bank employees' working conditions. That is, it is not a simple matter to compare an executive secretary's work conditions to those of a bookkeeping clerk whose routine job requires little training or skill.

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*Refers to status as non-managerial and therefore eligible to receive overtime pay. Officers and some supervisors are "exempt" from overtime pay.

But the chief source of the problem for our staff has been the difficulty in getting an overall picture of how banking is organized. Since it is hard to define how different departments and sections of a bank are related to each other, it is therefore quite difficult to discern the linkages between respondents' jobs in terms of relative status or responsibilities. The personnel officers interviewed agreed that this is partly because it _is_ difficult to measure the skills and responsibilities required for many non-exempt jobs in relation to each other. Criteria appearing to make a difference in how bank jobs are rated were most formally presented to project staff in a checklist one bank uses to rate different jobs by giving points in the following areas: education required; experience required; complexity of the work; responsibility for financial loss involved; responsibility for contacts with customers; the supervision required; the physical working conditions; mental and physical effort required; and the importance of workers' appearance.

For purposes of comparison with the telephone company craft* jobs, there are two points which are important to draw from the above facts:

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*Craft is a term used within the company to indicate a broad range of unionized, non-managerial positions.

(1) bank career paths are neither as straightforward nor as accessible to employees' understanding; (2) the non-supervisory bank non-exempt jobs tend to be more fluid and complex, less amenable to standardization, than are the telephone company craft level office jobs. It appears that as a result, training for the more complex jobs is also less standardized, which could partly account for the difficulty in straightforward comparison of jobs by skill level. Personnel officers tended to respond to questions about what skills are required for a job like "wire transfer clerk," for example, by saying, "you need a good head for mathematics," or "you need to be able to meet high pressured deadlines daily because otherwise the bank loses interest." The officers said someone working in the commercial loans division or as a secretary for an important officer must be able to handle important clients, or "a higher caliber of clients."

What these examples suggest is that bank staff are often judged on qualities--intelligence, manner and appearance, or state of knowledge about a particular set of principles (mathematics, accounting, commercial lending, checks and deposits, etc.) or aspect of banking. This is in addition to whatever particular and easily measurable skills are required (i.e., typing, CRT experience, handling money). All three banks have educational assistance programs for staff who wish to attend classes in banking outside of work hours, and all offer some courses for which paid leave is granted. But at least two personnel officers agreed that there is a big--and probably increasing--gap in terms of amount of education between the lowest rated jobs and the higher level, higher paying jobs in many departments of banking.

In summary, it appears that because it is less standardized, the kind of knowledge and experience drawn on for all but the lowest ranked bank jobs is more complex and challenging than that demanded of telephone company employees. However, this factor has also made the processes of training, transferring and being promoted less rational and relatively unclear to many bank employees, whose jobs are--unlike phone company workers'--not unionized. Bank employees interviewed felt more dependent on their immediate and second-level supervisors for their chances within the company. While this dependence existed in the telephone company employees interviewed, they also indicated recourse to union stewards and union rules.

(1) Management Style

In sharp contrast to the descriptions of the telephone company employees, the bank employees in general asserted that they were not closely supervised but rather were trusted to do their work. The first level supervisor in some areas appeared similar to a lead worker and was available for handling problems outside the employee's scope. Most women interviewed described work areas consisting of no more than four or five people; therefore it often appeared that an experienced staff person--including several of the respondents--might share the knowledge and problem-solving work with this supervisor unofficially. In all four cases of the higher level jobs (executive secretaries and the accounting technician) the employees appeared to have a great deal of control over the organization and pacing of their work. The work in one case was actually, if not officially, supervisory. This was true for four of the middle level employees interviewed as well; one was a non-exempt supervisor for her area, and the other three worked closely enough with their immediate supervisors to be able to function in that capacity in the supervisors' absence.

There were only two bank employees in the sample who reported that they did routine work with little variation and had little or no decision-making influence over problems with customers, accounts or whatever. These were also the only two women who reported exercising no influence over the organization of their work. In neither case did they also report being under great pressure, as did so many of the telephone company employees sampled. Both were in the lowest ranked jobs in the group, and had little customer contact.

Lobby teller and wire transfer clerk were two bank jobs personnel officers defined as highly pressured jobs, due to the funds handled, the consequences of mistakes, and other reasons. Yet both women who occupied these jobs when interviewed emphasized their sense of accomplishment and acquired skills rather than the pressure. Both women were comparing this work to previous less pleasant and responsible jobs.

The job rewards most repeatedly mentioned by Phase II women were the opportunities for making decisions, for reorganizing or improving the system of working, and for learning. Almost all employees expressed positive feelings toward learning about banking, about a specific area, about new machines, etc. Even those in the lower level jobs reported feeling that there were theoretically opportunities for advancement in the bank, even though they were often not certain what they wanted to do or could do, or were uncertain about their supervisor's support or about the procedures they could use to get other positions.

Consistent with the Anglo/minority patterns of response on the Work Environment Scales, reported in Section 4, most of the problems--current or past--with gaining supervisors' support for promotions or transfers were reported by Black or Mexican American women. These conflicts or problems with supervisors appeared to have played a role in slowing the advancement of several minority females by keeping them for several years in positions which they were ready to leave. Because of perceived risks of job loss, this overriding significance of immediate or second level supervisors in the work careers of women in the non-exempt bank jobs appeared to take on even more importance in the eyes of lower to mid-level employees. Several of these employees reported a fear of going over supervisors' heads to go after a job (except the Black woman who filed a formal complaint against her supervisor). Others who were not involved in such conflicts, including at least one high level female employee, still expressed concern about the uncertainties of aspiring to jobs within higher level non-exempt catetories. Here are the comments of one bank employee, when asked why she doesn't try to advance into other higher-paying jobs:

> You stay at one place, you learn the job, and you've got it down pat; and then there's another opening, so you take that one, and you keep going up the scale. And then you get that--you're put on probation three months. After three months' probation there's...the only raise is the next thing that's coming to you. And that's what she was doing. And you know what happened to her (the woman who used to have respondent's current job)? She's going...it went to her head. So she left our bank for another bank, for a better paying job, another job title. And she wasn't going to do anything. And it...she didn't last there maybe three or four--this is what I heard--three or four months, and she wound up applying back to our job, back to our bank. She came back to our bank. She didn't like it where she was at. And they didn't take her.

Another bank employee, who likes her job and is trying to move up, demonstrates a similar sense of risk involved with trying to do so:

> Well, then she was my supervisor of the area. And the person that was given the supervisor's position in the area didn't know anything about that area, and I felt, well, you know, but then just as fast as she went up she came down. God help me, I don't do the same thing...I try to keep up with the change at the bank and the pace as to what the management wants. You have to, in that area, or you're out the door. It's just, it's rough sometimes. But as long as you change with them and make the changes they want, you're all right.

Whether or not these feelings of uncertainty were founded on actual risks, or whether they reflected a fear of failure or some combination, similar fears of risk associated with change were not expressed by telephone company employees. Telephone company craft jobs are union jobs--with all the systemization in job changes and access to protected grievance procedures that unionization entails. In addition, telephone company employees have what they call "the fall-back policy," whereby they have six months after a transfer to change their minds and return to their old jobs without any penalty. In contrast, again bank jobs are not unionized. When combined with the complexity and fluidity of bank work organization, this absence of union protection could account for the difference in feelings between the two samples.

(2) Leave Policies

The general point of relevance regarding short-term leave policies is that despite variations in the number of sick or personal days available per year among the three banks, most of the women interviewed reported flexibility in practice on the part of their supervisors.

At the highest level jobs--the executive secretaries and accounting technician--this flexibility was extreme; as with professionals, the employees had great control over the organization of their own work as long as it was completed by the required time. This meant they could take a couple of hours to attend a homeroom mother's meeting at their child's school, run errands, etc. In one case, the woman's boss had insisted that she take a day or two off both when her husband was injured and when the family was moving into a new house. Another took advantage of comp time. Generally, the women in the mid and lower level jobs also reported that their supervisors were understanding about family demands on their time. Most often cited as positive practices were: (1) not having to lie or hide the fact that they were staying home with a sick child; (2) being able to come in a little late and make up time later in order to see a child off to school or to the doctor, etc.; and (3) being able to receive phone calls from children/spouse during the work day. Two of the three banks allow sick leave to accumulate, another policy reported favorably by the parents.

Only three women--two Black and one Mexican American--reported current problems with supervisors being too rigid about such matters. Extreme resentment had been engendered by such practices as calling an employee at home to inform her she had exceeded the quota of paid sick days, or persistently questioning an employee's decision to stay at home or leave work for a sick child. One woman in the sample had just quit her job because when her sister died, a new supervisor not only failed to express sympathy but had kept pushing her to come to work.

A few of the other women reported conflicts with previous supervisors over such matters. These policies--in general very dependent on the approaches/attitudes of individual supervisors--appeared to have greatly influenced the way these employees felt about their jobs and the moods they carried with them into the home. Problems with supervisors were often cited as having a direct impact on relationships with spouse and children in the home. The woman who had quit her job said her complaining and resentment about her supervisor had become too much of a burden on her family.

These statements were often made by the telephone company employees, but a major difference was that they--for a range of reasons already discussed--felt much less free to change employer, and therefore the family and/or the worker herself had to find ways of coping. The union also provided an important outlet for complaints.

Bank vacation time does not appear to accrue as gradually and steadily with years of service as with the telephone company. The maximum with one bank is three weeks after 15 years of service. In another, after five years of service it is three weeks and after 20 years it is four weeks. Bank vacations for the first two weeks cannot be split, although few employees complained about this. Conversely, telephone company employees expressed great appreciation as parents for being able to split vacations to coincide with their own or family members' needs.

(3) Pay and Benefits

Two types of health insurance are available at the banks, although employees are responsible for the premiums on family members' coverage at all three banks. Each bank has retirement plans and profit sharing. While these benefits are not as generous overall as CWA-negotiated telephone company benefits, most of the bank employees interviewed felt the benefits were adequate. Certainly it seems likely that they were more generous then benefits offered by most of the women's past employers.

Salary ranges, as has been stressed throughout this report, are considerably lower in the bank non-exempt jobs than in the telephone company craft jobs. For example, the lowest salaried person in the non-exempt clerical jobs at Bank A will begin at $719 a month as of January 1983. The comparable position (bookkeeping, clerk) at Bank B will be $735-$1,005 a month. For a teller position--what we have been referring to as a mid-level position--the Bank A range is from $841-$1,200 a month and the Bank B range is $775-$1,105 a month. And for the highest level jobs--for example, a secretary to a department head--in Bank A the range is $969-$1,420 and in Bank B it is $975-$1,465.

In summary, we found substantial differences between the working conditions encountered by most of the women in Phase I telephone company employees and those of Phase II bank employees. These contrasts can be described as relating to: (1) an overall management style which leaves the jobs in the phone company with little autonomy and places high pressure on the occupants of these jobs to perform certain tasks in the shortest time possible in a manner prescribed in advance. The bank jobs, on the other hand, are less structured and provide workers with greater autonomy. (2) Leave policies, in particular short term, personal and sick leave policies, were perceived by phone company employees as inadequate or inflexible, which often created problems for their families; most bank employees, on the other hand, found the policies for short term leave as administered by their supervisors to be more flexible and therefore more accommodating to daily demands of personal and family life. (3) Work schedules varied more among phone company employees. Some jobs, in particular Operators, require adjustment to various shifts. In general, the more desirable schedules can be obtained through seniority or through transfer to fixed schedule jobs, such as Service Representative. The bank employees also in general reported having experienced greater flexibility with arrival time, thus making allowances for special needs such as leaving children at sitters or Day Care. All bank jobs had regular day schedules. (4) Finally, the overall wage levels were significantly higher for phone company employees. Both employers provide benefits packages which are highly valued by employees and their families; for the phone company these benefits are negotiated periodically by the union.

3. Employment and Family Histories

a. Phase I Sample: Telephone Company Employees

The relationship between the employment and family histories of the women in the Phase I sample reveals their parallel development. All but two of these women were in their early 30's. They had, for the most part, been working outside the home steadily for over ten years, often since before graduating from high school. With few exceptions, these women had worked full-time outside the home throughout their married lives, leaving the labor force only for maternity leaves of around six months or less. The only exceptions were one Anglo woman, who with her husband operated a family farm for the first six years of their marriage, and one Black woman, who stayed at home for the first three years of her marriage while she and her husband moved around in the military and her first child was born. These families, then, had developed while depending on both parents' income and while facing the difficulties of running a household, caring for and socializing children, and providing for the needs of two full-time members of the labor force.

When asked why they went to work in the first place, female respondents invariably answered that it was because they needed money. Likewise, they all named financial need as the main reason they have continued to work.

As indicated in the description of the sample (Section 1) only one of these women had a college degree. Most had taken some courses from community colleges or business colleges, but 14 of 15 had completed only a high school degree. Most of them had employment histories tied largely to their current employer (about half have never worked anywhere else), and all but one had stayed with the company because they felt the salaries and benefits were the best available to them given their level of education. The one exception was the Black woman with a B.A., who turned down better job offers because her husband didn't want to move out of town.

There were some differences among the three ethnic groups in terms of their work careers. The two Anglo Service Representatives had been with the company for over 12 years, moving through a variety of jobs, units, and even cities; they had been Service Representatives for two to four years. The Anglo Senior Stenographer moved up to her job from an entry level position as Service Order Writer. The two Anglo Operators had not made moves to higher paid jobs; one had been working there only two years, but the other has been in the same classification for her entire 13-year career.

The Mexican American women exhibited a different pattern. The two Service Representatives had spent close to their entire time in the company (eight and ten years) in those jobs. In addition, the Mexican American Senior Stenographer had moved down to that job recently, sacrificing higher pay and seniority for the less stressful Stenographer position. The two entry-level Mexican Americans had spent all of their time with the company (eight and six years) in their jobs as, respectively, Service Order Writer and Operator.

Two Black women had spent 11 and 16 years, their entire working careers, at the company, moving up the ladder in various jobs. Promotion to their present jobs resulted from a discrimination complaint in one case and from the acquisition of a college degree in the other. The latter's degree had rendered her extremely over-qualified for her Operator job, although a college degree was not a requirement for her present position either. The three Black Operators had been with the company from eight to 12 years, and have spent their entire time as Operators.

b. Phase II Sample: Bank Employees, Including Comparisons with Phase I

(1) Work Histories

The relationship between the female bank employees' work histories and families histories differed in certain key ways from those of the Phase I women. Like the Phase I sample, most were in their early 30's (two are in their late 20's; one woman had just turned 40), and all 15 had gone to work outside the home by the time they were married. Since most married when they graduated from high school or soon after, this means that all of the women had been employed between 10 and 20 years when they were interviewed. The most strikingly consistent difference between Phase I and Phase II mothers is that the latter group had much less stable employment histories.

The women employed in the banks tended to have changed employer more often, changed type of work more often, and moved in and out of the labor force more often and remained out for longer periods of time than their phone company counterparts. As indicated above, the telephone company employees' median length of service with the company was ten years, with six years being the median length of time in their current jobs. In contrast, all but one of the bank employees had held their current jobs for less than four years, and most had been in their job for two years or less. Only two out of the 15 had worked continuously with their current employer for nine years; the median years of service with their current employer was two years.

This clear contrast between the work histories of the two samples of women appears to be related to differences in the employers' personnel practices. We mentioned previously that the telephone company employees had stayed with their jobs for years, despite their unhappiness in the jobs--

primarily because of a perceived inability to find comparable pay and benefits elsewhere with their educational backgrounds. Few expressed plans to leave the company in the near future, as most had reached a level of seniority and pay that gave them advantages in selecting vacations, schedules and increased benefits. Those who were most unhappy tended to try to transfer to less stressful jobs within the phone company rather than planning to leave.

The bank employees, on the whole, tended to indicate much less commitment to staying with current employers; what commitment they did express depended on their sense of fulfillment in their work and on their view of their own opportunities for promotion into jobs with greater challenge and higher salaries. Of the 15 women, five expressed positive feelings about their own promotability and therefore were certain they would remain with their current employer. The remaining 10 expressed a range of feelings, including uncertainty about opportunities for advancement, an apparent lack of thought about their future with their current employer, or certainty that their tenure was only temporary. The latter group included one woman who, during the interview period, quit her job after a dispute with her supervisor over a day off for family needs.

Indeed, most of the Phase II women had tended, over the years of their working life, to leave the labor market for one to three-year periods for what can be referred to as family-related reasons. The most common specific reasons were: (1) a husband's transfer to a different town, state, or even country; (2) the birth of a child, in two cases a sickly or handicapped child; and (3) in two cases unhappiness with child care arrangements. In the two most extreme cases of labor market interruptions, a mother of a child born severely handicapped had remained out of the labor force for nearly eight years to care for that child and two others; another mother had quit her job a year after her first child was born, when her husband was transferred to another town, and had remained home through the births of two more children. She did not return to outside employment for nine years, in order to remain at home where she felt her children needed her. Her husband had a management job in a large retail company, was transferred often in order to be promoted, and was one of the better paid men in the sample. In contrast to the phone company women's experiences, this movement in and out of the labor force was related to patterns of relatively frequent changes of employer.

There was also a clear tendency for Phase II Anglos to have career patterns differing from their Black and Mexican American counterparts. Specifically, the Anglo women--with the exception of one woman who had left the labor force for nine years--had tended more rapidly to advance into better paying jobs with higher prestige. This is related to the fact that the Anglos either had acquired more formal education than their minority counterparts (two Anglos had 1 1/2 and 3 years of college, respectively, whereas the only minority woman with college coursework was a Black woman who had one year with a business college), or they had entered their current work in higher positions than all but one of the minority females.

Two of the Mexican American women had achieved positions in their banks which they described as challenging and involving decision-making about work organization; these jobs are ranked toward the top of the non-exempt clerical jobs.* They had plans to move into supervisory and management positions, respectively. The remaining three Mexican American women were in lower ranked non-exempt positions, as are all but one of the Black women, who was a lobby teller. For all but one of the minority women (n=9), the jobs which predominated in their early years of employment had been minimum wage (or lower) positions in retail businesses: movie theatres, fast food chains, budget department stores. Other commonly mentioned jobs, in particular for the Black women, were food service and kitchen work and child care work. The Black females--all but one of whom are from small towns in Texas or the South--consistently commented that the opportunities open to them in their hometowns had been limited to "domestic work" and food service work. This was the major factor in all of their moves to the city. For them, as well as for three of the five Mexican American women, working in bank clerical positions had been an opportunity they felt fortunate to encounter.

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*See Section 2, General Work Conditions of Women, for the difficulties involved in deciding the ranking of the bank jobs.

Three of the five Anglos were officially secretaries to high ranking bank officers, although based on their descriptions of the work they normally do, at least two and possibly all three appeared actually to serve as administrative assistants. Two of these had 1 1/2 and three years of college education; the third had taken secretarial courses in high school and worked continuously as a secretary (including in banks) since graduating. The other two Anglos were in two of the next higher ranked positions in the sample, one working with accounting and the other with customers in a checks and deposits division. All had experience in responsible jobs in other office settings, including supervisory positions in state agencies and secretarial and supervisory positions in insurance and legal offices.

Both of these women had joined the bank at levels higher than the bottom ranking non-exempt jobs. One of them had acquired her current position after years out of the job market (though with several years of banking experience); because of changes in the economy, her job had expanded rapidly in responsibility and was soon to be upgraded.

Despite these differences between the types of jobs that the Anglo women and the minority women had held over the years up to and including the present, the pattern of more frequent changes in employer and more frequent and lengthy moves in and out of the labor force--in comparison with the telephone company employees--holds across ethnic background.

These differences in work history patterns between the Phase I and Phase II women are difficult to interpret. Several possibilities must be considered. The first is that it is an artifact of the sampling procedure. Perhaps the union referred to us only women who were long-term employees, while the bank personnel officers did the opposite. This can be ruled out because, including the approximately equal numbers of refusals from each phase, the women interviewed appeared to exhaust the universe of female employees in selected job types within the companies sampled who met, or came close to meeting, our sampling requirements. A second explanation which occurs--and one which is more difficult to dismiss--is that women who take these jobs with the telephone company are motivated differently than those who take non-exempt jobs in banks. Either their values, what they look for in a job, or the reasons they are working are different. A third explanation is that there are differences in the employers' policies or the nature of the jobs which can account for the trends in the work histories of the two samples of employees.

We have presented evidence of the differences between the employers' policies, and the women's jobs, and have suggested some logical connections between these differences and the contrasting work histories among the two samples of employees. In the following pages we will explore the motivations and values expressed by the women for evidence of differences between the samples.

(2) Motivations for Working

Interestingly, despite the fact that total family incomes overall in Phase II were lower than those in Phase I, even without being corrected for inflation, fewer women in Phase II stressed that money was their primary reason for being employed. This was the case even among Phase II minority families, whose overall income was considerably lower than both minorities in Phase I and Anglos in Phase II. Certainly, for all of these women the need for money was an important motivation to seek and retain employment, but of the 15 bank employees, only two women stated unequivocably that money was their primary reason for working outside the home.

Women in the better paying jobs who described their work as challenging, or who had influence over their work's organization, said that working fulfilled them and they would be unhappy being at-home housewives and mothers. As one woman put it, "when things are torn up at the house, the edges start to blur. Without the job, the edges blur. I mean, all of it put together is what gives me definition." In other words, the job is important to her identity.

For the remainder, from the mid-level to the lowest level non-exempt bank jobs, the women tended to remark that they got some pleasure from their jobs. Rewards most often mentioned were learning about banking, keeping informed about the outside world, being with people and getting out of the house. Women in the more routine, lower-ranked jobs (four of the Blacks and three of the Mexican Americans), tended to assume that they would probably be working at a job or in business all of their lives. This assumption was shared even by the two Black women who said they didn't have to work for financial reasons; these two women's husbands were career military men with higher incomes than most Phase II minority males. Most of the women agreed that they would, at the very least, be bored at home all day.

This does not mean that they did not think a mother ideally should be home with her children in order to provide them with the best care. The majority of women in both samples spontaneously asserted this ideal, as did most of their husbands. Where the telephone company employees and the bank employees differ, however, is in the vehemence with which they asserted a desire to be at home. Telephone employees, most of whom disliked their jobs and experienced great stress from its pressure and frustration, almost all declared that were the family magically provided the amount of their salary, they would stay at home. On the other hand, only two of the bank employees were certain they would stay at home under such circumstances. Seven others said they would definitely work outside the home; the others were either uncertain or talked of part-time work or going to school.

Why this contrast? We have outlined differences in the women's feelings and attitudes toward their jobs, as well as differences in their work histories: to summarize, (1) telephone company employees almost all expressed great frustration with and unhappiness in their jobs, while bank employees almost all expressed views balanced between positive and negative or primarily positive feelings about theirs; (2) telephone company employees tended to assert that money was the primary reason for their working, while bank employees highlighted other advantages; and (3) telephone company employees had remained more steadily in the labor force, with longer tenures with their present company and job, than had the bank employees.

Certainly the salaries of the women in the telephone company tended to be higher, even where time with the company was equal. The median yearly salary of the telephone company female employees was about $16,000, and for the female bank employees it was $10,000. Considering that these were 1980 and 1981 salaries, respectively, the actual earnings' gap was even wider. There was also a tendency for telephone company employees to have contributed a larger percentage of their total family income. Of the 11 women providing 50%-55% of the family income in the total sample, eight were telephone company employees and only three were bank employees. Of the 11 women providing 28%-39% of the family income, eight were bank employees and only three were telephone company employees. The family income figures and the wives' contribution to the family income are presented in graph form in Figures 1 and 2 in Section 1, Description of The Sample.

The apparent attitude difference between Phase I and Phase II female employees obviously cannot be explained simply in terms of the women's salaries. This point is important, because much of the research literature on dual career or dual-earner families assumes that salary is a key index of both a wife's job and her husband's in assessing how the job affects gender roles, marital satisfaction, or family power (Scanzoni, 1978, Rawlings and Nye, 1979). Yet, we have clear evidence in our study that another important way in which a woman's job influences her home life is how it makes her feel and what it means to her and to her husband; the same, indeed, holds true for a man's job. We have found that in these two types of workplaces, the female employees' feelings about their jobs hardly depend solely on salary levels. Rather, it appeared that the differences in these women's attitudes toward their jobs and in their views of the relative disirability of being at home can be accounted for partly by differences in overall employer management styles, including work organization, supervision and formal policies on short-term leave and telephone access to the workers' families.

An additional contrast between Phase I and Phase II workplaces is the phone company women's greater sense of job security and their attachment of greater significance to yearly seniority increments, to their pay, to additional benefits, and to le[illegible]nd timing of vacations. As a result, phone company employees tended to report--with each year of service--a greater commitment to remaining with the company. This, in turn, has encouraged their families to depend on their relatively high salaries and the union-negotiated annual salary increments.

We include excerpts below from the discussions of several telephone company employees on the subject of why they began and/or continue to work in jobs they do not like. There are quotes from three women who have described experiencing great amounts of stress and frustration as a result of their jobs over the years. All three have female relatives, and in one case, male relatives, who preceded them as telephone company employees.

Woman A: (She has held the same job with the company for 13 years). I was in the small town I come from when I started working for 'em. It's one of those (offices) that they phased out. It was either that or go to college and get some type of clerical education, and it was just easier to go to work for the phone company. Because they paid good, had opportunity and you could always transfer into different departments. They even have a tuition plan where you could go to school and they'd pay. It just had good opportunities at the time.

Question: Did you expect to be working for a long time?

Woman A: When I went to the company in '69 I was going to work one year. Because I was going with this guy, he was in the service, he had one year left in the service. At that time

I thought I was going to marry him. I was going to quit. Well I didn't get married like I thought I was. Once I got started and got used to the money there was things I wouldn't quit to give up. It didn't work out that way. I'm still workin.' I've had chances. When I had my daughter eight years ago I went out on pregnancy leave. I wasn't going back. But money was tight. There was things I wanted her to have, and I knew if I didn't go back to work she wasn't gonna get, with just one salary. So, back to work.

Woman B. (three years with the company). I liked it (previous job in sales). I lost a lot of weight, you're on your feet. It's a department store. But I only made $150 every two weeks. Minimum wage at part-time. So when I got hired at the telephone company it was for money. Cause I've already been a telephone operator in my home state and I didn't like it.

Question: Why did you apply to the company down here if you didn't like it?

Woman B: For the money, that's it. And it's a good company. I can transfer anywhere in the United States, and I thought I'd have a pretty good chance since I was an operator up there. But it wasn't because I wanted to work for them.

Question: Have you ever considered changing occupations or companies totally?

Woman C: (13 years with the company).
Only as a fleeting thought. I've never applied for a job outside the company. Changing departments, going from the operating department to the commercial department, was probably the biggest jump I thought I'd ever make in my life. But...never seriously have I looked at another job. All the other occupations that I've ever thought about doing I don't think would be any less stressful and certainly would be less rewarding...either financially or psychologically...as the one I've got now.

These latter comments (Woman C) are particularly interesting, considering the degree of stress and frustration she had consistently described experiencing as a result of her job. Of all the women in Phase I, she appeared to be the most assertive with the company and the union, and she expressed a strong need to find challenging work. She was uncommonly analytical in her discussion of management issues, and had pursued opportunities for changing jobs and looking within the company for areas which might provide challenging work more often than others. She had, in fact, turned down offers for a management position (as have others) in order to have more time for her family. But she has accepted her current rigidly structured and highly stressful job as service representative in order to accommodate her husband's job transfer and to keep the family income at it's currently high level (one of the highest in the sample).

A fourth woman has the least pressured job of the three types occupied by our Phase I respondents, and is not so much unhappy in her job as bored. She was completing a second year in her current job after transferring out of another job in the company with which she was very unhappy. When asked why she remains with the company, she observed:

> That gets you where they want you and you can't (quit)...They pay you so much money and your benefits are so good, that you usually are in debt. We are not, but a lot of people are in debt up to that yearly raise they get every year..."We are going to be making $50 more a month, and we are going to buy this"...And then you can't really afford to quit and go someplace. A lot of other places couldn't pay that much, like small businesses.

The quoted comments, and others like them in the interviews, lead us to consider factors beyond the specific job or company policies to reach a better understanding of these women's reasons for accepting their jobs. Two themes which are evident in the interviews are perceptions of limited job opportunities, as well as their view of an acceptable income level for their families, appear to play an important role in determining what jobs they will accept and how important the mother's salary is considered to be to the family. In other words, these factors influence how an individual and/or her spouse weigh rewards and costs of particular jobs. These perceptions and expectations are, of course, subject to change; furthermore, a worker and her family will also assess a particular job according to previous jobs held, both by the husband and wife and by people they know, and according to their view of what other jobs are available to them.

This observation partly accounts for the pattern in how the sample's women--and some of the men--seem to have wound up in their current jobs. In the great majority of cases (25 out of 30), these women's work histories appear rather aimless, jobs were not in general taken out of a sense of what skills or experience they could provide for better paying or more desirable work in the future. More often, jobs were taken through chance encounters or personal connections. Noticeable in the Phase I sample was the number of women who had relatives who were also phone company employees; this connection alone had often led to the idea of applying for a phone company job. Likewise, few of the Phase II women had selected banks to work in with any clear sense of the opportunities offered; rather, banks had for the women an air of respectability, or in some vague way a bank had appeared at the moment to be a good type of employer.

For the bank employees in lower and middle level non-exempt jobs, previous employment had been primarily in low paying jobs with less prestigious institutions; these previous jobs had seldom been in offices and had provided little assurance of job security or advancement possibilities. Relative to these jobs, current working conditions and rewards (not necessarily including pay) seemed acceptable to most of these women. However, since the same pay and opportunities can be found with other employers, these women said they felt little pressure to remain with work situations that make them unhappy.

The telephone company employees, on the other hand, know that without more education, their opportunities to make comparable money elsewhere are limited. And the longer they stay with the company, the more their view (and the views of their spouse and children) of an acceptable family income depends on their retaining their current salary and benefits.

An additional factor which must be taken into account in assessing the decisions of women--and men--in the sample regarding whether to remain with a particular job or company is their own personal desires/preferences for challenging autonomous work, or conversely, their tolerance for rigidly supervised or routine jobs. In addition, the value placed on the autonomy and flexibility in a job may be weighed in relation to the value of the pay and benefits differently by different individuals. It is possible that the two types of employers selected for comparison in Phases I and II tend to attract women with such personality and/or value differences.

However, the interview data are too complex to accommodate a simple single factor explanation. In the first place, there are variations among the women within each sample regarding the level of challenge they look for in their work. There are some women in each phase of the sample who demonstrated a greater need for challenging work and broader responsibility than others. As we have stated earlier in this report, however, there was much less variability among the women of either sample regarding their expressed preference for autonomy in their jobs (e.g., some degree of control or influence over the organization of their work; some decision-making power; freedom from overly rigid or close supervision).

As previously noted, there was a greater emphasis on financial motivation for retaining their jobs on the part of telephone company women in general. This was evident in spite of the clear tendency for their own salaries--and their total family incomes--to be higher than those of the bank employees. This emphasis seems to be partly due to the relative absence of other rewards from their jobs. The bank employees in general also stressed the importance of the income from their salaries, but more often spoke of additional rewards of working as of equal or greater importance. A very common point made by women and their husbands was that even if they wished the mother to remain at home, once the additional income from her salary was available to the family, the entire family became accustomed to having the money and the idea of the wife/mother leaving the labor force became less and less acceptable. It seems likely that the higher the initial salary and benefits of the women from their earliest job, the more difficult it would be for her and/or her family to adjust to a significant decrease in her pay. The same held for male workers as well, particularly as their families increased in size. This factor, coupled with the women's perceptions of their limited opportunities in the job market, could account in part for the greater emphasis of telephone company employees on financial incentives for remaining with their company, and their greater reluctance to leave the labor force during their child bearing and child rearing years. Whatever the specific reasons, money appeared to be more important as a motivator to the majority of Phase I women than to the majority of Phase II women.

However, it is inaccurate to speak of the motivations of women or men for remaining with, or leaving, particular jobs as if they were purely personal motivations. The majority of both women and men in the total sample--but more consistently and emphatically the women--speak of their motivations and decisions as influenced by their spouses' wishes, as well as their own and their spouses' views of their children's needs. In a few cases the children themselves were reportedly consulted in decisions about jobs.

In fact, the interviews provide strong evidence for an interdependence of the spouses' plans such that in families where members appeared relatively cohesive in their relationships with each other, the job strategies of individuals are better described as family strategies. When either of the spouses pursued career/work goals for strictly personal reasons, the family was inevitably described by one or both spouses as relatively conflictful in their relationships.

It can therefore be misleading to compare the motivations for working outside the home of women in Phase I and Phase II, or their work histories, without comparing those of their spouses.

We reported, as a result of Phase I husband and wife interviews, that men and women view themselves differently in terms of their work outside the home. (See Fourth Interim Report, Phase I, Family and Community Studies (FACS), November 30, 1981). We suggested that there was an underlying assumption, often stated explicitly by one or both spouses, that the jobs and working careers of the husbands are more important than those of the wives. By "important," we meant (1) that the men's identities are more tied up with working and providing a salary for their families, and (2) that husbands must be free to pursue work outside the home which will provide them with fulfillment in the work itself, in addition to providing financial benefits.

The evidence we cited for this was threefold: first, Phase I men said much more frequently that they would continue working even were their salary and benefits somehow magically provided to the family; and second, both sexes indicated that male occupational goals were more likely to be accommodated by wives than vice versa (through moving to other cities, supporting them while in school, etc.); finally, women commonly asserted that overall, their families came first and their jobs second. Essentially, this pattern of response holds as well for the Phase II bank employees and their spouses. However, as we have said, more Phase II than Phase I women said they would continue to work even if their salaries were magically provided, and more female bank employees (four versus two telephone company employees) stated that their working outside the home is as important to their sense of self as is family.

Although all thirty families in the two-phase sample shared the basic assumption that husbands' career or work plans are ultimately more important than wives, this seldom led wives and children to unquestioning acceptance of the goals and desires of the men regarding their (the husbands') careers. Clear evidence from most interviews reveals that when the men's careers or work plans involved enough time or money to undermine their families' needs, their spouses were less willing to accommodate husbands' career goals. Indeed, the reported occurrence of family conflict related to the demands of men's jobs or careers was common.

To return to the differences between the two groups of female employees, the women who work in banks were overall less vehement or persistent than the phone company women in asserting that their families were more important than their jobs. Those two or three bank employees who did stress this point did so in the context of discussions about conflicts with supervisors about getting time off to tend to sick family members or to meet some other family commitments--in other words, when job and family demands were in clear and rigid opposition.

The differences in the kinds of responses given by women in the two samples cannot be satisfactorily explained by any single factor. For example, from the responses mentioned, it would appear that Phase II women were more likely to value their jobs, or employment, over their family responsibilities than Phase I women. More of the former would work if their salaries were magically provided, more felt their jobs were important to their sense of identity, and they were less likely to assert that their families were more important than their jobs as compared to Phase I women. However, the evidence from their work histories belies this interpretation. The Phase II women reported leaving the labor force for family-related reasons more often--and for longer periods of time--than the Phase I women. It is possible that Phase I women, because they have remained so constantly in the labor force while rearing their children, feel a greater need to assert the importance of their family out of a sense of loss or guilt for the years away from home. There was evidence of feelings of guilt and of inadequacy as a parent among more Phase I women than Phase II women.

However, this explanation seems incomplete without noting the differences in the short term leave policies of the women's employers. The telephone company, according to the women we interviewed, had much more rigid policies and/or policy applications than did, in general, the three banks. Among the telephone company employees, none reported that it was possible for them to take off workday hours, arrive late, or take days off for a sick family member without either lying to their employer, losing pay, or having it count against their record. All but four of the bank employees reported that they had little difficulty in doing so, because of either bank policy, their supervisor's understanding, or available compensation time. The women themselves often made clear connection between the degree of such leave flexibility in their jobs, current and past, and their own ability to balance demands of the job and family. The inflexibility of the phone company jobs in this area unquestionably contributed to the feelings of greater conflict between job and family expressed by the women in those jobs.

Finally, as we have noted earlier, the influence of husbands' jobs, and of family dynamics in general, on women's work-related decisions must be taken into account.

(3) Husbands' Job Attitudes

An examination of the husbands' attitudes toward their own jobs reveals a stronger difference between sexes in the Phase I sample than in the Phase II sample. In sharp contrast with their wives, only two of the 14 husbands interviewed in Phase I expressed strong job dissatisfaction. One of these was much younger than the others and was at the end of an unhappy tour with the armed services. Aside from mild complaints about certain aspects of their jobs, most of the men stated that they liked their work and found it interesting, rewarding, challenging, or at least pleasant. The men's work diverged widely. It included skilled blue collar jobs, low and middle level management for government and private industry, and professional specialist-level government work.

The rewards that the husbands found in their work varied, but at the very least they appeared to include sufficient feelings of autonomy to afford them a minimal pride in the mastery of their jobs or professions. This pride, in general, appeared not to be mitigated by overly rigid supervision like that which most of their wives experienced in their jobs.

Another interesting pattern appeared in the Phase I men's career plans: all but five of them were thinking seriously about starting their own businesses, or were already involved in building one. Reasons cited by several men for the plan to be self-employed included (1) the eventual achievement of independence in their working situation, and (2) the reduction of their increasing tax burden. However, the most commonly cited advantage was an increased income so that their wives could then exercise the choice to stay at home if they wished, rather than feeling they had to work.

For some men, the desire to have their own business was explicitly related to frustration with the demands of both spouses' jobs on their time, at the expense of the family's time together. They felt that owning a business would alleviate this problem either by (1) allowing their wives to take jobs which would be less demanding on their emotions or their time, or (2) allowing their wives to stay at home. However, for all but five of the 15 families, these plans were for the future and were not yet being implemented. The plans seem significant, in part, because of the sheer number of men who spoke of them (10 out of 14 men interviewed during Phase I). It seems clear that these plans reflect the men's concern about finding ways to accommodate the family's financial needs, their own desires for fulfillment in their work, and their images of what their ideal family life should be like.

The noticeable difference in the way Phase I men and women assessed their current jobs is reflected in the quantitative data obtained with the Work Environment Scale. Phase I men scored significantly higher than women on the Autonomy subscale, while the women tended to score higher on the Work Pressure subscale.

This suggests that in general, the women working for the telephone company felt they have little autonomy and a great deal of pressure in their jobs, while the trend for their husbands' jobs is just the opposite. With only two exceptions, the wives' salaries were either equal to or lower than their husbands'. It is not surprising, then, given this combination of features, that most of the women perceived fewer rewards from their jobs than their husbands report from theirs. For these women, monetary rewards contributed little to general work satisfaction. This further confirms this project's original assumption that a worker's feeling of autonomy is important to the intrinsic satisfaction that he or she derives from work.

The differences between men's and women's attitudes and feelings about their jobs were not so marked with the Phase II sample. In fact, the men and women in this group revealed notable similarities in the degree of emotional involvement with and liking for jobs and career. These interviews provide interesting support for V. Oppenheimer's (1977) argument that a couple is more likely to prefer "status compatibility" between the spouses' jobs, rather than pushing for a lower status job for the wife, as Talcott Parson's pervasive model presumes. However, the respondents in our sample appeared to prefer a level of emotional involvement with work careers for spouses which would be similar to their own level. Some respondents indicated a desire to make more money, which in turn led them to encourage their spouse to aim higher in their own career. But the desire for advancement or career change was seldom discussed by respondents of either sample in financial terms only. It was often allied with expressions of their need for greater challenge, independence or autonomy in their work.

In the Phase II couples, where the husband had what he considered to be a fulfilling career, the wife usually had an equal involvement in her work and viewed it as a career. In status terms, the Phase II men with the higher paying, higher status jobs tended to have wives in the higher level jobs.

More men (four of them) in this sample, all of them minorities, reported that they had not yet found satisfactory jobs or careers. These included two men who were unhappy with their actual work and with their pay; one of these was also unhappy with the rigidity of a supervisor's handling of short-term leave for meeting family needs. Two other minority males did not express unhappiness with their jobs currently, but they were in jobs with much future opportunity for enhancing their income.

In general (there are exceptions) the Phase II minority husbands, in contrast to the Anglo husbands and like their own wives, had a lower sense of their job opportunities and had lower paying jobs requiring less education or specialized training. The educational level of the Anglo males in the Phase II sample was considerably higher than either Mexican American or Black males, unlike the Phase I sample, where the education of most minority males was higher than all but one Anglo (see Table 4).

A factor which may have contributed to this disparity between Phase I and Phase II minority men's educational levels is that the Phase II wives were making much lower wages than the telephone company employees and were thus less able to help support their husbands while they attended school. In all of the five cases where men had completed college degrees in the Phase I sample, their wives' dependable income with the telephone company had provided key support. In the Phase II sample, one wife of a husband with a higher education degree had worked to help support the family during the period of his education, while the other husband had remained single through college.

Again, the question of the personal motivation factor seems relevant. Is the generally lower educational, job, and income level of both minority men and women in the Phase II sample due to lower levels of personal or couple motivation/aspiration? This question is impossible to answer conclusively, but there are several pieces of evidence which suggest that the explanation is not so simple. In the first place, the association between lower positions and minority status is a social pattern, suggesting that a socio-economic explanation for the pattern has some merit. Such an explanation presumes that there is something about the experience of minorities which would make them likelier to have lower level and lower paying jobs. The fact that this was not as consistent in the Phase I sample may indicate a stronger motivation to get ahead among Phase I minority respondents, although this must be considered in addition to the advantages for the Phase I women of their recourse to union rules and procedures, as well as the effect of civil rights suits on the promotion and hiring practices of their large and national level employing company (see Mother Jones, August 1981).

A second type of data mitigating a purely personal/psychological interpretation of the lower job level patterns among Phase II minorities is the evidence that several of the women bank employees had begun to develop higher ambitions as a result of their experience with the bank. This suggests that levels of motivation and ambition do indeed change, and they are developed in interaction with experience through a feedback process. This dialectic between ambition and work experiences we have referred to as changing awareness of job opportunities.

It has been pointed out in the discussion of the work histories of the Phase II females that they had moved in and out of the labor force over the years for family-related reasons and that they had stayed out as long as three years (e.g., the birth of a child; the illness of a child; the transfer because of husband's work to a new geographical location; problems with child care, etc.). For most of the minority families, this was undoubtedly related to the fact that the women were making low salaries to begin with. Over the years it has meant that in comparison to the Phase I families, overall, these families had had much lower total family incomes and were accustomed to more modest lifestyles than the remainder of the sample. It is also a trade-off between continued higher family income levels versus increased maternal time spent with children which these families were willing to make. It may be that below a certain level of salary and benefits connected with the mother's job, and depending on the father's income level, it is not worth it financially to the family for her to remain constantly in the labor force, considering the added expenses of her employment (child care, transportation, etc.).

It is interesting to note that in the Phase II group generally, when a spouse who had reached a certain level of involvement in his or her career and had sensed opportunities to advance into more challenging and/or better paying jobs began to see that the other spouse was far behind in this regard (i.e., stagnating, remaining at too low a salary level), he or she would begin to encourage the stagnating spouse to move ahead as well. For example, one Mexican American husband, who gradually had moved up to a high management position with a large retail sales company, had begun to encourage his wife to go after more responsible, better paying jobs. She had achieved the highest level position (management in a bank) of any woman in the Phase II sample. Although she had had to take a lower position currently as a result of her husband's transfer to the city, she indicated plans to move into management again.

In two other cases, one Mexican American and one Black wife had both recently become aware of the possibilities for their own promotions, and each one was becoming more ambitious as a result. As one of them stated, "I feel like if I've got to work, I've gotta be working towards something." The other woman had recently been given more control over the organization of work in her area and revealed a great sense of accomplishment and success. She felt she had become more ambitious than her husband. Both these women spoke of encouraging their husbands to do better as well, and one of them was trying to talk her husband into going back to school.

There is a final point about the contrast between men's work plans in the two samples. As noted above, a striking majority of the Phase I husbands were thinking about--or actually planning--some kind of independent business (10 out of 14 interviewed). Although one of the Phase II husbands with a higher income was already in business for himself (owned his own large truck for short-run hauls), only two others mentioned ideas for starting their own business. One of these had too low a total family income for the idea to be realistic, and the other was a career military non-commissioned officer close to retirement who was considering some kind of small business as a supplementary income.

One important difference between the Phase I and Phase II families, which could partly account for this pattern, is that the phone company couples confidently predicted that the family could continue to regularly accumulate enough surplus income to venture into business. In all cases, the future plans mentioned by these men presumed that at least their wives would continue working during the initial stages of launching the business. In three cases the plans were already underway, and either the man was already working two jobs or both husband and wife were putting in extra hours. Most of the phone company families had been in a steady pattern of increasing income for five to ten years for both husband and wife and expected this to continue for at least the next ten years.

Phase II families revealed no similar pattern. Only two of the men had pursued careers so steadily that their incomes rose predictably and significantly over the period of the marriage. Neither of their wives had had constantly rising incomes; their experience had not included uninterrupted tenure in union-negotiated jobs, as had Phase I women's. One had been late in discovering her capacity for commanding a good salary, and soon after she had worked her way into that job she had relocated with her husband and taken a lower level job and salary. The other man's wife had left the job market to raise their three children during a long period of frequent transfer/promotions for her husband. Two other men who had pursued careers with relative steadfastness showed mid-point interruptions and changes in career direction and employer. In one case, a husband who had re-enlisted in a branch of the armed forces in order to continue his specialized technical work had decided to leave the service after eight years because his career was not developing as he had expected. The other husband had, within the last several years, moved out of a fast-rising career in law enforcement into a teaching position in the same field. This decision was primarily motivated by the need to save his marriage and family life, which was suffering as a result of the great emotional and time commitments demanded by his career. Both men had thereby sacrificed pay increments and seniority which would have accrued had they stayed within the same career tracts. The two career military men had taken 15 to 20 years to achieve the salary level of Phase I's telephone repairmen with eight years' seniority.

Ironically, one of the reasons most often cited by the men for establishing a business was to allow their wives the choice of leaving the very job which had apparently played such a significant role in helping accumulate enough surplus income to enable such a plan to be seriously entertained. This may indicate the additional stresses associated with the specific trade-off made by Phase I families between greater economic opportunity and security versus greater flexibility and autonomy in the jobs of the mothers.

To summarize, an important difference between the two samples was the greater continuity of the work careers of phone company women, who tended to have worked with their current job and company longer and to have taken shorter leaves; most of their changes in work were transfers and promotions within the same company. Bank employees, on the other hand, tended to have worked at their banks for shorter times, and to have taken more frequent and longer leaves from the labor force for family related reasons. This difference has been attributed in part to the perception of phone company women of few alternative job opportunities which would provide comparable high salary levels (given their level of education) which they and their families had come to expect. The female telephone company employees, and their families, appear to have endured their stressful, low-autonomy jobs in exchange for job security, high wages and good benefits. Bank employees--who tended to have lower paying jobs--more often referred to positive aspects of employment in addition to the financial, and their intentions to remain with their present employers were more dependent on their perception of opportunities for positive job changes and salary increases.

An examination of the motivations for working expressed by men and women in both samples provides evidence for a degree of interdependence between spouses' plans, such that job/career strategies of individuals, both women and men, are better described as family strategies. Failure to consider that interdependence on the part of some spouses appears to have contributed to conflictful relations when career goals of one spouse were perceived by the other to be undermining family needs. Examination of men's occupational careers indicated a more widespread overall job satisfaction expressed by men in both samples. Differences between men and women in job satisfaction and involvement are less noticeable among families of bank employees than among telephone company families. These latter women are generally less satisfied with their current jobs than are their husbands. Among bank couples there is a tendency for spouses who are involved in their careers to stimulate and encourage their spouses to pursue theirs. This evidence offers support for the idea that there may be a preference within couples for status, or at least "involvement," compatibility between spouses' jobs.

Finally, some differences in the work careers and current job status of the minority parents, most evident among Phase II families, have been examined as evidence of a social pattern of unequal opportunities, rather than a simple difference in personal motivation. The interpretation of interview data on work and family histories poses the general question of whether workers' perceptions and values regarding their personal and professional life are in some sense shaped by their jobs and working experiences, or whether people select and remain with the jobs which most closely suit their perceptions and values. We have concluded that these "explanations," when posed as alternatives, are misleadingly dichotomous. Considered separately, they assume a static psychological approach to explaining behavior, wherein one's values and priorities result from only one type of experience (e.g., early family or work experience). By piecing together different responses and themes in the interviews, we have concluded that peoples' views of their choices and priorities--both professionally and for their families--develop and change in interaction with their working experiences and those of their spouses.

4. The Work and Family Environment Scales

In an effort to obtain an independent quantitative assessment of important aspects of jobs and families, we administered the Work Environment Scale and the Family Environment Scale (Moos, R. H., and Others, 1974) to both husbands and wives. When one of our outside reviewers initially suggested these instruments we were concerned about the amount of additional time they would demand from the respondents; the decision was made to administer the Short Forms of these scales, consisting of only 40 items each rather than the full 90-item forms.

Both the Work Environment Scale and the Family Environment Scale are based on a conceptualization of the social climate of various social groupings; the Scales were developed by Moos and his colleagues at the Social Ecology Laboratory at Stanford University. Both scales are organized into 10 sub-scales scored independently. These sub-scales are grouped in turn into three main dimensions: Interpersonal Relationships, Personal Growth and Development and System Maintenance and System Change. The labels and descriptions for the sub-scales are presented in Appendix C.

The normative sample's raw scale score means and standard deviations were used as a baseline for comparison with the Phase I sample; tentative findings were reported in our Interim Report (Fourth Interim Report, Phase I, Family and Community Studies Project, September 1, 1981 to November 30, 1981). The potential pitfalls of using scale scores based on only four items were revealed when Phase I data were analyzed. Reliability estimates were computed for the Work and Family Environment Scales, using Phase I sample scores. The reliability estimate used was the Alpha coefficient of internal consistency (Cronbach, 1952) based on the item-scale intercorrelations. On the Work Environment Scale, four of the ten sub-scales' Alphas were above .70; four were between .60 and .70; and two were below .50. Veldman (1978) suggests .70 and above as adequate for personality or attitude scales.

The Alpha estimates for the Family Environment Scale, on the other hand, were found to be considerably lower. None of the ten sub-scales' Alphas were above .70; four were between .50 and .70; and six were .36 or below. For this reason, we used in Phase II the full 90-item Scales for both the WES and the FES. Examination of the item scale correlations obtained with the 90 item forms, as well as and several other attempts to use that data, are detailed in Appendix F.

Unfortunately, the 50 additional items used in Phase II did not improve the reliabilities enough to warrant using different norms and scores to compare the phases. Thus, only the first 40 items were actually scored for Phase II subjects. The sub-scales' raw scores for all subjects were converted to standard scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10, using the norms supplied by Moos and others. This transformation normalizes the distribution of scores and provides a reference group for comparison of our sample with a larger number and variety of jobs and families. The sample used to develop the norms for the Work Environment Scale included 44 groups (624 individuals) that represented a wide range of occupations, both employees and supervisors, blue and white collar.

Only selected findings from that work will be presented here. Selective use of these data is in keeping with the basic premise that the interviews provide more valid data from which to make inferences.

Interview data are, after all, based on an interpersonal exchange allowing participants to clarify meanings and to independently confirm information between spouses. The sub-scale scores, on the other hand, are more subject to extraneous influences, such as ambiguously worded items, items sensitive to children's ages, and social desirability. The scale scores provide a much cruder index of family processes than do the in-depth interviews.

We examined the sub-scale's standard scores using a three-way analysis of variance design. The three independent variables were Workplace of the Wife (corresponding to Phase I, phone company, and Phase II, banks); Gender (husband/fathers and wives/mothers); and Ethnicity (Anglo, Mexican American and Black). Tables with Cell Means and Source Tables for all variables are included in Appendix F.

a. The Work Environment Scale (WES)

The findings of interest to the study include those contrasting women's jobs in the two workplaces, those contrasting men's and women's jobs, and those pointing up differences among ethnic groups. Since the men represent virtually 30 different workplaces, few inferences or generalizations about them will be meaningful. The women, on the other hand, have the same or very similar employers, and thus are exposed to similar work environments.

The sub-scale "Involvement," described as "the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs" indicates that the minority employees, with the exception of Phase II Black males, tended to report lower levels of "involvement" compared to the normative sample. Anglo employees, with the exception of Phase I women, tended to score near the normative mean (50).

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Scores for the sub-scale, "Peer Cohesion," described as "the extent to which workers are friendly and supportive of each other," indicates that overall, minority employees, with the exception of Phase II Black males, reported experiencing less positive interpersonal relationships than Anglo employees. This tendency reflects the pervasive nature of the attitudes which minority workers perceive in their workplaces.

Sub-scale "Staff Support," scores, described as "the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other," are presented in Table 6. The analysis of variance reveals a statistically significant interaction effect for workplace by Gender. The pattern of means indicates that overall, phone company women perceive less support from management than bank employees, although the husbands indicate the opposite. There is a trend (p.=.14) that points to differential perceptions of management support by minorities and Anglo employees. The lowest levels of "staff support" are reported by Black women in both Phase I and Phase II. Finally, there is a trend (p.=.14) that suggests that minority workers in general perceived less support on the part of their respective supervisors and managers. These patterns are suggestive of an overall quality of the minorities' workplace experiences which are more negative than those of non-minority workers. Affirmative action must be accompanied by an aggressive human relations program in order to maintain and improve the quality of interpersonal relations for all workers.

Sub-scale "Autonomy" scores, described as "the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions," are presented in Table 7. The analysis of variance revealed a significant

TABLE 6

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Staff Support" * ANOVA

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE	SPOUSE	ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK	ALL
1 PHONE COMPANY FAMILIES	Husbands	51.0	51.0	36.7	46.2
	Wives	39.6	36.6	29.3	35.2
2. BANKS FAMILIES	Husbands	39.4	22.3	45.2	35.6
	Wives	59.4	48.0	28.2	45.2
ALL		47.4	39.5	34.8	40.6

Wives' Workplace by Gender interaction significant to p.= .05
Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity interaction trend (p.= .11)
Ethnicity main effect trend (p.= 14)

* STAFF SUPPORT - *Assesses the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other.*

TABLE 7

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Autonomy" * ANOVA

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE	SPOUSE	ANGLO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	BLACK	ALL
1. PHONE COMPANY FAMILIES	Husbands	48.6	67.8	44.3	53.6
	Wives	19.8	35.8	31.0	28.9
2. BANKS FAMILIES	Husbands	39.0	43.0	48.6	43.5
	Wives	55.0	39.0	42.5	45.4
ALL		40.6	46.4	41.5	42.8

Wives' Workplace by Gender interaction significant to p.=.01
Gender main effect significant to p.= .03

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*AUTONOMY - *Assesses the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. Includes items related to personal development and growth.*

difference (p.=.03) in perceptions of autonomy between men and women. In addition, a significant interaction effect between Workplace and Gender (p.-.01) indicates that the feelings of lack of autonomy are more pronounced among phone company women; the greatest contrast is that between Anglo women in the phone company (M = 19.8) and Anglo women in the banks (M = 55.0). This is consistent with other workplace differences expressed during the interviews, and with the fact that Anglo women in the banks tended to occupy the higher level jobs. The overall higher level of autonomy perceived by bank employees confirms the success of our sampling strategy for Phase II, since we were looking for a workplace which clearly contrasted with the Phase I workplace; these scores, and our interview data, confirm the fact that we found such a place in the banks selected.

Men, overall, reported greater job autonomy, and their total mean score of 48.6 is close to the mean of 50.0 for the normative groups and one full standard deviation higher than the overall mean of 37.1 for women's jobs. The higher autonomy reported by the men is even more significant when one considers the greater range of jobs and occupations represented in the sample of men.

"Work Pressure" scores, described as "the extent to which the pressure of work dominates the job milieu," indicates that mean pressure scores reported by the phone company employees (M - 61.3) is about one standard deviation above the normative sample of 50.0. Bank employees, on the other hand, report pressure that is near the mean for the normative sample (M = 51.1). The scores on this scale confirm the feelings expressed by the women during the in-depth interviews, and they reflect the contrast in the overall atmospheres of these two work environments.

"Clarity" scores, described as "the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated," reveal differences in perceptions between Anglo and minority women within the phone company. Although all three ethnic groups are distributed in similar jobs, the Anglos' mean score of 40.6, compared to 56.0 for Mexican Americans and 49.0 for Blacks, suggests that supervisors communicate rules and policies more explicitly to minority workers. Differences in perceptions of rules were apparent neither among the three ethnic groups of bank employees nor between phone company and bank employees.

"Control" scores, described as "the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep workers under control," reveal differences in perceptions between phone company employees and bank employees; bank women experienced higher levels of control (M = 59.3) than did phone company women (M = 51.3). The lower scores of phone company women, in the face of a rigid and closely supervised work environment, require some further examination. It seems plausible that the existence of a union, a formal contract, and established grievance procedures contribute to give these women a sense of being protected from arbitrary actions by supervisors and managers. No such protection is available to bank employees, who are dependent on their supervisors and managers for raises, transfers and promotions, and who work for an industry undergoing growth and change, where the turnover rate is higher than in the phone company.

"Physical Comfort" scores, described as "the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment," reveal that bank employees perceive their surroundings as more pleasant (M = 60.3) than do phone company employees (M = 46.1). Minority women--particularly in the banks--perceive their environment more positively (55.7) than Anglo women (48.4). This pattern may be related to the different work histories of women in the Phase II sample. Minority women had fewer office jobs in their background and generally reported perceptions of early job opportunities which were more limited, compared to those of Anglo women.

In summary, the picture of the workplaces emerging from the responses to the Work Environment Scales parallels reports obtained from interviews with families and union officials during Phase I, and with personnel officers during Phase II.

The phone company women, regardless of individual jobs, reported lower involvement with their work than did either the normative sample or the bank women. They also reported lower levels of support from their supervisors, an extreme lack of autonomy in their jobs, and higher work pressure than did the normative groups. Yet, despite the close supervision, phone company women do not seem to feel overly controlled by management. This has been attributed to the union protection, a formal contract, and set grievance procedures. This job security and the higher than average wages earned by these workers are the main factors which keep them in jobs that only one of the women interviewed liked--and for which all the rest expressed mostly negative feelings.

The bank women, on the other hand, experience work pressure which is near the normative sample; they perceive higher levels of control than phone company women, but more support of supervisors and other workers.

Another interesting set of findings relates to differences among the three sampled ethnic groups. The minority experience is pervasive, and it expresses itself in a number of scales. Minority women report lower involvement in their jobs, poorer interpersonal relationships and low peer cohesion, less support from their supervisors, greater clarity in the communication of rules and policies in the phone company, and greater valuation of the physical comfort associated with their jobs. In part, these differences might be explained in the banks by the relatively higher level jobs of the Anglo women; the differences persist, however, in the phone company, where no such differences exist.

Finally, although the men have a greater range of jobs than the women, as a group they still experience greater autonomy than the women.

b. The Family Environment Scale (FES)

The examination of the item-scale intercorrelations of the Family Environment Scale (FES) using the Phase I sample data, produced extremely low Alpha reliability estimates. None of the ten sub-scales' Alphas were above .70; four were between .50 and .70; and six were .36 or below. Details of these analyses and several other attempts to derive meaningful scores with these items are detailed in Appendix F. The initial expectation was that these scales would allow us to group or classify sample families into meaningful types, but because of the scale scores' low reliability, this could not be accomplished. Following the recommendation of the scale's developers, a "family" score for each sub-scale was computed by averaging spouses' scores. This tends to take care of extreme scores by assuming that the "real" score for any given family lies somewhere between the spouses' separate perceptions. In the three cases in which only one of the spouses had completed and returned the forms, those scores were used as the best approximation to the "real" family score.

Given the limitations of these scales, only comparisons between the sample as a whole and the normative group, as well as comparisons among the three ethnic groups, will be discussed. The sample used to develop FES norms included over 1,000 individuals in 285 families. Families were recruited from three different church groups, from a newspaper advertisement and through students at a high school; Anglo, Black and Mexican American Families were included.

"*Cohesion*" scores, described as "the extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other," registered differences neither among the three ethnic groups nor between the families in the two phases. Overall, the mean for the total sample (55.0) is half a standard deviation *above* the normative group mean of 50.0.

"*Expressiveness*" scores, described as "the extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly," revealed differences neither among groups, nor with the normative group.

"*Conflict*" scores, described as "the extent to which the open expression of anger and aggression and generally conflictual interactions characterize the family," did not register differences among the groups. The overall mean (44.6) is one half standard deviation *below* the normative group mean of 50.0.

"*Independence*" scores, described as "the extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions and to think things out for themselves," suggest a weak tendency for Black families (M = 45.0) to allow less "independence" to its members than either Anglo or Mexican American families (M = 51.4). The Alpha reliability coefficient for this scale, however, was estimated for this sample at .15, so the interpretation of what a summative score really means is very risky.

"Achievement Orientation" scores, described as "the extent to which different types of activities, like school and work, are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework," did not reveal differences among the groups, nor with the normative group mean.

"Intellectual-Cultural Orientation" scores, described as "the extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual and cultural activities," did not reveal differences among the groups, and the overall mean for the sample (M = 47.0) is only slightly below the normative group mean of 50.0.

"Active Recreational Orientation" scores, described as "the extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities," revealed a significant difference (p.=.006) among the three ethnic groups. The Anglo families reported significantly less sports orientation. This is particularly clear in the Anglo bank employees' families, in which the husbands tend to have irregular working hours and somewhat time consuming occupations. Mexican American families of phone company employees, on the other hand, reported participation in organized softball leagues as a family pastime in which the family, and in some cases the extended family, gets together. The overall mean for this scale (M = 47.6) is slightly below the mean of the normative sample, suggesting a possible effect of the low amount of "free" or leisure hours available to dual-earner families.

"*Moral-Religious Emphasis*" scores, described as "the extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values," did not reveal differences among the groups. The overall mean (M = 58.9), however, is almost one standard deviation above the normative group mean of 50.0. Although religious beliefs and/or practices were not explored systematically during the inteviews, it is clear from the interviews that many of these families are involved with churches, and several said religion is a significant source of comfort and support in their lives.

"*Organization*" scores, described as "how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring the family activities," did not reveal differences among the groups. The overall mean (M = 55.7), however, is about one-half standard deviation *above* the normative mean of 50.0, suggesting that a higher degree of organization may be associated with the dual-earner status. This is a plausible trend overall, although there is variability within the sample in terms of particular *forms of adaptation or response* of families to their dual earner status. The examination of these types of family responses constitutes a major focus of this study, and the relevant data come from the in-depth interviews rather than from these scales.

Finally, "*Control*" scores, described as "the extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner and rules and procedures are rigid," did not reveal differences among the groups. This sub-scale had a very low Alpha reliability estimate. The mean for the total sample (M = 50.7) is about the same as that of the normative sample, 50.0.

In summary, the Family Environment Scale does not contribute greatly to an analysis of intra-group differences within our sample. The scores indicate that, overall, these dual-earner families tend to be slightly more cohesive, slightly less conflictive, slightly less intellectually oriented, less active recreationally, more religious and more organized in their family activities than the normative sample. These weak differences are all plausible as general characteristics of dual-earner families, where stress from two full-time jobs and from the caring for children and maintaining a household place a premium on time and energy. However, the low reliability of many of these Family Environment Sub-scales has led us to rely primarily on interview data for analysis of family dynamics. The Work Environment Scale, on the other hand, had consistently higher reliability estimates and revealed differences among groups consistent with the interview data. We, therefore, consider that the Work Environment Scales provide support and strengthen evidence for the study's conclusions about the work environments of the respondents.

5. Work and Family Interrelatedness

The analysis of interview data has proceeded in three major stages: (1) the coding and search for patterns within the Phase I interviews; (2) the coding and search for patterns within the Phase II interviews; and (3) comparisons between Phase I and Phase II patterns.

Because of the complexity of the data from the interviews--even after the interviews had been coded--the accompanying Tables 8 and 9 were constructed as tools to aid in the analysis. They became particularly helpful in the search for patterns in areas of family organization, such as spouses' beliefs about roles in the family (an ideological/cultural dimension), and parental involvement with the schools of their elementary school-aged children (a behavioral dimension). The categories representing these areas ("Share Image," "Should Mother Be At Home," "Husband Shares Tasks," etc.) emerged over the course of the analysis as important components of parental roles in dual-earner families.

The data recorded in these tables separately for each phase include: (1) researchers' judgments about certain features related to family organization; (2) reports from mothers and fathers about their jobs' flexibility for taking hours or days off for family related reasons ("Flexible Short Term Leave"); (3) information about the types of work schedules of both husband and wife; (4) researchers' judgments about certain aspects of parental roles.

Phase I sample data are presented in Table 8 and Phase II sample data are presented in Table 9. Within these tables, the individual families (rows) have been placed according to ethnic background (A = Anglo; MA = Mexican American, B = Black) and given numbers within these groups from 1 to 5.

TABLE 8

SUMMARY TABLE OF SELECTED PHASE I FAMILY RESPONSES AND WORKPLACE CONDITIONS

	PHASE I	Share Image	Should Mother Be Home		Husband Share Tasks	Children Share Tasks	Type Family Response	Flexible Short term Leave		Work Schedules		Believe Father Authority with Kids	Who Involved in School	Level of Parental Involvement in School
			M	F				M	F	M	F			
	1	No	Yes	No	No	1	C.C.	No	No	Same (Regular)		No	Both	Low
	2	Yes	No	No	Yes	3	T	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		No	Both	High
A	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1	Tran	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		Yes	Father	Low
	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1	T	No	Yes	Complementary (Split shift)		Yes	Both	--
	5	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	1	A.F.	No	No		Part time	No	Mother	High
	1	Yes	No	No	Yes	1	C.C.	No	Yes		Irregular	No	Father	High
M	2	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	3	A.F.	No	Yes		Long hours	Yes	Mother	Low
A	3	Yes	No	No	Yes	3	T	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		No	Both	Med
	4	Yes	No	No	Yes	1	T	No	Yes	Over-time		No	Both	Low
	5	Yes	No	No	Yes	1	T	No	Yes	Complementary Short-late		Yes	Both	Med
	1	No	No	Yes	No	2	A.F./C.	No	No	Same (Regular)		No	Mother	Low
	2	No	Yes	No	No	1	A.F.	No	No		Part-time	Yes	Mother	Med
B	3	Yes	No	No	Yes	1	C.C.	No	No		Long hrs. Irregular	Yes	Mother	Low
	4	No	No	Yes	No	1	A.F./C	No	No		Part-time	Yes	Mother	--
	5	Yes	No	No	Yes	3	T	No	No	Same (Regular)		No	Mother	Med

C C	Child Centered Family
T	Togetherness Family
TRAN	Transition Family
A F	Absent Father Family
C	Conflict Family

1980 Family where Wife works at Telephone Co.

TABLE 9

SUMMARY TABLE OF SELECTED PHASE II FAMILY RESPONSES AND WORKPLACE CONDITIONS

PHASE II		Share Image	Should Mother Be Home		Husband Share Tasks	Children Share Tasks	Type Family Response	Flexible Short term Leave		Work Schedules		Believe Father Authority with Kids	Who Involved in School	Level of Parental Involvement in School
			M	F				M	F	M	F			
A	1	Yes	No	No	Yes	2	T	Yes	Yes		Rotating shifts	Yes	Mother	Low
	2	Yes	No	No	No	3	T	Yes	No		Part time	Yes	Mother	High
	3	Yes	No	No	Yes	2	T	Yes	Yes		Night school	Yes	Mother	Med
	4	Yes	No	No	Yes	2	T	Yes	Yes	Overtime		No	Both	Med
	5	Yes	No	No	Yes	2	T	Yes	No			No	Both	High
M A	1	Yes	No	No	No	3	T	Yes	Yes	Same (Regular)		Yes	Both	Low
	2	Yes	No	No	No	3	T	Yes	No	Same (Regular)		Yes	Both	Med
	3	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	2	Tran	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		No	Both	Med
	4	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	1	Tran	Yes	Yes	Same (Regular)		Yes	Both	Low
	5	No	No	No	No	3	Tran	Yes	No		Overtime	Yes	Mother	High
B	1	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	2	T	Yes	Yes		Night shift	No	Both	High
	2	Yes	No	No	No	1	A.F.	Yes	No		Part-time jobs	No	Mother	Med
	3	Yes	No	No	No	1	T	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		Yes	Both	Low
	4	Yes	No	No	No	2	C	No	Yes		Long hrs. Irregular	Yes	Father	High
	5	No	No	No	No	2	C	No	Yes	Same (Regular)		Yes	Mother	Med

CC	Child Centered Family
T	Togetherness Family
TRAN	Transition Family
A F	Absent Father Family
C	Conflict Family

$ 1981 Family where Wife works at Bank

a. Family Responses and Workplace Conditions: Categories of Tables 8 and 9.

During the initial analysis of the Phase I data, the interview data coded under "Work/Family Interrelatedness" were examined first. What emerged from this analysis is a concept called the "image of the ideal family," or "the family image." This image is posited as an assumption behind much of what participants in the study strive for, worry about and argue over. It does not usually emerge from the data as an abstract ideal explicitly described by respondents. Rather, based upon our examination of the interviews, it is inferred from a composite picture of family life developed from goals and standards by which spouses and parents judge themselves and each other in their everyday decisions and discussions. For example, it became clear, after examining transcripts of two interviews with one mother, that her expressed frustrations and explanations for a range of behaviors were predicated on two related assumptions: (1) that both parents should spend a great deal of time with their children; and (2) that a good mother should be home to supervise and direct the activities of her children during the day. This standard was met, in her judgment, by neither herself nor her husband. The husband, on the other hand, felt that they both spent sufficient time with their children, more than his own father had ever spent with him. Furthermore, he reasoned, while it would be *ideally* better for the family if his wife stayed home, in reality it didn't make a great deal of difference that she didn't. This couple, therefore, was judged to be in disagreement about their ideal family image.

This insight led to a systematic review of the pertinent segments of each family's interviews. We examined transcribed data from each family in a search of the nature of the underlying family image. After looking at the interviews with husband and wife, we categorized each family according to whether spouses seemed to share a similar image or to have divergent images. The specific contents varied from family to family, but the two most central issues seemed to be (1) whether or not they felt strongly that the mother should stay at home with the children, and (2) how much time they felt both parents, particularly the father, should spend with his children and in family activities generally.

The research staff made judgments after first examining the data independently and then arriving at consensus in case of doubts. Results are presented in Tables 8 and 9. The column labeled "Share Image," indicates whether or not the couple was judged to share a similar image of the ideal family (yes - shares; no = does not share). The next column, labeled, " Should Mother Be Home," indicates whether the parents strongly believed that the mother should stay home with her children (yes = should stay home; no = not necessary to stay home), recorded independently for the mother (M) and the father (F). The next column, labeled "Husband Shares Tasks," is an indication of whether or not the husband shared significantly in the gender-stereotyped or "female" tasks of child care and housekeeping (yes = shares; no = does not share). Judgments in this column are based on both husbands' and wives' responses to specific questions in the interview about task allocation and sharing. In all of these cases there was agreement between the independent responses of both husbands and wives about husbands' level of participation in domestic tasks.

The next column, labeled "Children Share Tasks," represents staff judgments about the degree of children's participation in the housework. Three general levels of participation could be discerned by comparing families: (1) the lowest level, indicating the child(ren) had no regular responsibilities beyond performing one or two small tasks (feed the dog, empty the trash) and caring for their own rooms. In most cases labeled "1", the parents spoke as if they either had trouble enforcing even these or enforced them inconsistently; (2) the middle level, in which children had regular duties beyond responsibility for their own rooms and other small tasks. These usually included cleaning up their own room, washing dishes, sweeping or dusting, or being responsible for cleaning an additional room, such as the bathroom; and (3) the highest level, which includes cases in which parents reported that the children carried a major portion of the household chores, including responsibility for cleaning several rooms, and in some cases doing part of the laundry or shopping/cooking chores.

The next column, labeled "Type of Family Response," represents staff judgments about the major family organization features which emerged as important themes in the interviews with both spouses. It must be emphasized that these "responses" cannot be assumed at this point to be simple variables which might be "dependent" or "independent" variables. Rather, they are intended as shorthand descriptive statements about aspects of the nuclear family configuration which appear to predominate as characterizations of each family's adaptation to its dual-earner status at the time of the interviews. The use of the word "response" does not imply a passive reaction of family to external conditions imposed by the workplaces of spouses. Rather, the relationship between the family configuration described and the work experiences of both parents is a dialectical one--they are reciprocally influencing. It is evident from a study of the interviews that these configurations can shift and can be consciously changed by families. Four of the thirty families were judged to be consciously changing their family organization at the time of the interview period, which led us to propose a type of response labeled "Transition" (TRANS). In addition, not all types of responses are mutually exclusive--the "Absent Father" (AF) is the most obvious example. The following are the "Types of Family Response."

(T) "Togetherness" is used when respondents described themselves as close families and mentioned that both parents and children participate in a majority of recreational and/or housework activities. (CC) "Child-centered" families indicates that the parents' relationships with their children were judged to be of greater significance to family life and cohesion than the marital relationship. (C) "Conflict" families are those judged to be characterized by major conflicts between parents and sometimes children over basic issues such as task sharing, time spent by one or both parents with the family, and whether or not a mother should be working. In these families the conflicts appeared for the moment to be unresolved, and there was no indication of an agreed-upon compromise or direction for change accepted by both spouses. (TRANS) "Transition" families are those in which a major alteration in both spouses' views of family roles or relationships was occurring when the parents were interviewed. Several of these families had had major conflicts in the past, and in order to resolve them had sought outside help or support. The planned changes were inevitably in the direction of egalitarian task sharing by both parents. (A.F.) "Absent Father" families are those where fathers were virtually absent from most of family life, either because of extra jobs, greater involvement in their jobs, or simply social/emotional isolation from participation in most of the shared activities. In some cases this was accepted (outwardly at least) by the mother, and in others it had led to great conflict between parents.

The three final categories in Tables 8 and 9 are indicators of parental roles. Again, as with factors we have referred to as related to family organization, they include both an ideological/cultural dimension (i.e., expressed beliefs about fathers' role) and descriptions of actual participation in an activity (i.e., involvement with the school).

The category representing the cultural dimension (beliefs about paternal authority) eventually emerged as a category of interest because so many parents spontaneously mentioned that the father was stricter with the children, or in some way implied that the children paid more attention to his discipline than to their mother's. Some illustrative statements include:

> Father A: To me, the father has to be the disciplinarian, children have got to fear him if they do something wrong, they have to dread their father finding out about it, or else they keep doing it if they don't dread their father.
>
> Mother B: Their daddy on the other side is a little bit more stricter and less understanding. I'll listen to them first because lots of times you'll accuse them of something and they didn't really do it. Or it wasn't their fault. And I try to see their side also.
>
> (How come they mind him more?)
> I guess he yells at them to clean the house right. And they probably know he's going to whip them.
>
> Father C: (Between you and your wife, do you pretty much agree on discipline?)
> I'm pretty much the law myself; my wife pretty much agrees with me. And if there is something that she doesn't agree, she usually tells me about it; but most of the time I'm the heavy who takes care of them.
>
> Father D: The kids pay more attention to me than what they do to the wife; just the male model, I guess. They know that I'm serious and that I'm going to do something

> about it if they don't pay attention. And the wife is more emotionally involved, and if they do something wrong she may threaten to spank them and she won't. And they realize that she probably won't and will allow them to get away with it. So discipline-wise, I probably carry more authority than she does.

Because so many parents made these statements, even though the interviewers did not anticipate or try to solicit them, we decided that this widespread distinction between "mothers'" and fathers'" relationships with children could be labeled as a cultural dimension of parental roles, representing traditional views of these roles.

The parental participation in monitoring children's progress and other school activities was explored during the interviews with mothers and fathers in both phases of the research, but with a sharper focus during the second phase. Specifically, the interview guide during Phase I only suggested that the interviewer explore parental involvement with schools, whereas the Phase II interview guide provided sample questions to assure coverage of this specific area. The data--while less consistently detailed for Phase I families--are comparable in this area for the two comparison groups. On the basis of the responses to specific probes and the spontaneous relation of incidents with teachers and schools, judgments were made by the researchers about the participation/non-participation of each parent, and about the intensity of that participation. For each family, transcript examination and coded responses were used to determine if the mother, father or both had the major responsibility for communicating with schools, dealing with problems that arise, attending parent-teacher conferences and PTA meetings, and participating in other school functions. The judgments of the intensity of participation were based on the same data. Low level of participation was judged when neither parent had regular contact with teachers and other school personnel, and were only vaguely aware of their children's day to day school activities. A medium level of participation was judged when either or both parents knew their child's teacher, communicated with her/him either by notes or telephone, and attended most regular school functions. A high level of participation was judged when either or both parents had repeated face-to-face contacts with teachers and other school administrators; visited their children's schools on regular days (not special "parents' days"); had involved themselves with the subject matters being taught; had requested textbooks or materials; or had interacted with school personnel about their children's transfers, grades, testing or discipline.

b. Comparison of Phase I and Phase II Patterns

At the end of the first major stage of analysis based on Phase I interviews, it was observed that in families where the "image of the family" was shared between spouses, the husbands tended to participate significantly in the household or child care tasks (see Fourth Interim Report, November 30, 1981). The components of the family image which were most often reported to be in contention had to do with whether the mother and/or the father's job was detracting from the children's or the family's well-being. Therefore, it appeared that agreement between the spouses on the importance of time spent with the children and in other joint family activities facilitated the work-sharing behavior of parents.

We noted that this agreement appeared to have been achieved between eleven out of the fifteen couples interviewed during Phase I, and that in nine out of those eleven cases husbands had been judged to "share tasks" in the home. In the four couples where a major disagreement on family image was apparent, none of the husbands shared household tasks to a significant degree, as can be observed by examining Table 8.

However, with the addition of the Phase II sample of families with mothers working for a different kind of company, and with generally different work histories, these same associations did not appear to hold as consistently. In the Phase II sample even more of the couples were judged to share the family image (13 out of 15), yet of these only four husbands were judged to share household/child care tasks to a significant degree. In fact, these were the only husbands in all 15 Phase II families who were judged to do so, as compared to nine husbands overall in the Phase I sample.

A difference between the Phase I and Phase II samples can also be seen in one of the major components of the family image--whether one or both spouses felt strongly that the mother should be at home with the children. Of the telephone company couples, one or both spouses in eight families expressed this view; among the couples where wives worked in banks, parents in only three families felt this way, and in all three cases both spouses agreed.

Other contrasts appear between research staff judgments about the families of bank employees. In general, children's level of participation in housework was judged higher among bank families. Phase I families (not counting the two who have only a pre-school aged child) included eight with the lowest level of participation (1); only one with the middle level rating (2); and four families with the highest level rating (3). In comparison, bank families included only three families with lowest level rating (1); eight families with middle level rating (2); and, like Phase I, four families with the highest level rating (3).

The age of the oldest child in the family seems to be a factor in the amount of responsibility taken by children for household chores. This could partly account for the trend towards greater participation of children in tasks notable among the bank families, since more of them had teenage children than did telephone company families (six versus one family). On the other hand, having a teenage child was no guarantee of high participation; only three of the seven families with teenage children were rated as having children highly involved in household chores, while the children in the other four were judged only moderately involved. Four families in which the oldest child was 12 were judged to have children highly involved in household tasks, three in Phase I and one in Phase II. Therefore, the trend toward more families with a teenage child in the Phase II group cannot by itself account for all the differences between the two samples regarding children's participation in housework.

A comparison between the overall patterns in "type of family response" between Phase I and Phase II reveals that what we have labeled "Togetherness" (T) characterized nine Phase II families in contrast to six Phase I families. If the families labeled "Transition" (TRANS) are included--because they were judged to be consciously working towards change in the direction of greater agreement and cohesion--then the contrast between Phase I and Phase II is sharper (Phase I, 7 families out of 15 compared to Phase II, 12 families out of 15). Five Phase I families were characterized as "Absent Father" families, compared to only one family with this label in Phase II.

It seems a fair generalization to say that overall, more Phase II (bank) families described themselves as more cohesive total families (in terms of emotions and activities) than did Phase I families. This does not mean that any particular set of relationships were described as better by one group compared to the other (i.e., parent-child, spouse, etc.). Rather, (nuclear) family relationships overall were assessed as more "together" by more Phase II parents. Spouses' relationships were balanced with parent/child relationships, and fewer strains or conflicts were described within this network.

This was not consistently associated with a significant participation of the father in traditionally gender-stereotyped tasks of housework and child care. The clear exception to the link between greater father participation in these tasks and the judgment of greater family cohesion was among the families of Mexican American and Black bank employees. Various alternative explanations for this exception will be discussed at a later point in the analysis. It should be noted, however, that in the families labeled as "Transitional" (TRANS) in Phase II (3 Mexican American families), the change included greater father participation in child care duties, and in three of four Phase II families labeled "Togetherness" (T) but "No" on "Husband Shares Tasks," the children's level of participation in the housework was rated at the highest level. These patterns do tend to support the association between significant work sharing among some family members (besides the mother), in the home, and the assessment by spouses of an atmosphere of "togetherness" in their family life.

c. Patterns of Employer Leave Policies As they Relate to Parental Involvement in Schools

The criterion for sampling in the two phases of the study was, of course, the employer of the women. However, it is important to consider the policies of the women's employers as they interact with those of their husbands' employers in order to get a full picture of the kinds of constraints and opportunities these policies offer to the workers and their families. Data has already been presented in the sections on Work and Family Histories, General Work Conditions of Women, and Work and Family Environment Scales to provide evidence of the generally lower level of autonomy (and related higher pressure) for the female telephone company employees as compared to the female bank employees. Although this autonomy has been defined as a part of a broader aspect of management, an important concrete manifestation of this autonomy was the degree of flexibility in short term leave policies/ practices.

The column labeled "Flexible Short Term Leave" on Tables 8 and 9 provides judgments of the flexibility of these leaves for both mothers (M) and fathers (F). It can be seen that none of the telephone company women reported flexible leave, while eleven of the fifteen bank employees reported that they were able to take short leave without penalty. Among the men, eight of the husbands of phone company employees reported flexible leave policies in their jobs, compared to 10 of the husbands of bank employees. More significantly, in the Phase I sample there are seven families in which both mother and father had jobs offering no flexibility in short term leave policy. In comparison, none of the bank families were in this situation, and in six of the 15 Phase II families both the wife and the husband reported flexible leave policies in their current jobs.

Judgments about which parent was most involved with the schools of the children and judgments about the level of parental involvement are recorded in the final two columns of Tables 8 and 9. Of the 14 families who reported that both spouses were equally responsible for keeping up with the schools, six were phone company families and eight were bank families. All three fathers who reported having the major responsibility for school involvement were married to women whose jobs had rigid leave policies--two in the phone company and one in a bank.

When neither parent had flexible leave policies, which was the case in six families (all of them phone company families), it was the wife who would somehow find the time to assume that responsibility. Fourteen out of 17 fathers with flexible jobs were involved at some level in their children's schooling. However, only two of the 13 fathers whose jobs had rigid leave policies were involved in their children's schooling. Mothers, on the other hand, showed a much greater commitment, either out of conviction or tradition. All 11 mothers whose jobs had flexible leave policies were involved with their children's schools, but in addition, 16 of 19 mothers with rigid leave policies still managed to find the time to maintain some involvement.

When, in addition to who was involved, the intensity or level of that involvement was taken into account, bank families tended strongly to be more involved with their children's schools. To the extent that this involvement is linked to leave policies, this difference would seem to be related to the differences in flexibility of the women's leave policies, since there were no differences between Phase I and Phase II men who have flexible leave policies in their jobs. Five of the eight families who reported high levels of involvement were bank families, while only four of the ten families judged to have a low involvement in their children's schooling were bank employee families.

The relationships which we have observed to exist between their employers' short term leave policies and the parents' reports of the degree of their involvement in their children's schools are not sufficient, in themselves, to establish a direct link between the policies and parental activities. Indeed, by suggesting that the relationships differ for men and women, we have indicated one clear way in which family role dynamics might interact with workplace policies and thus mediate their direct impact.

Again, it is difficult for us to rule out differences in the interests, values, or personal priorities as explanations for the differences in trends in type and degree of parental involvement in the schools for Phase I and Phase II families. As we have discussed in the section on Work and Family Histories, most of the Phase II women have left the labor force more often and for longer periods of time for family-related reasons than the majority of Phase I women. It is not clear from the interviews whether this fairly striking contrast in work histories indicates (1) a greater willingness on the part of Phase II parents to sacrifice increased income for other family goals, such as more time spent with children; (2) a lower sense of job opportunity on the part of some Phase II parents, particularly the minorities; (3) a decrease in the financial value to the latter families of uninterrupted employment for the mothers due to their lower paying jobs; (4) or (what is most likely) some combination of all these factors. Whatever the differences, there are no data from the interviews to indicate that Phase I parents tend to be less concerned about their children's education than Phase II parents. On the other hand, there are compelling reasons to link the tendency for less intense involvement of Phase I parents in schools to the greater rigidity of those mothers' employers' short-term leave policies, coupled with the effects of the greater stress they report experiencing in their work. The pressure--emotional and organizational--placed on the female telephone company employees by their inability to influence the organization and pacing of their work, and by the difficulty of getting time off for short periods for personal/family reasons, according to their own reports, often influence the network of relationships in their homes.

These women reported more often than the female bank employees that they were irritable at home, that they lacked patience with their children and spouses. They also reported, overall, greater guilt about their supposed lack of patience, and they reported feelings of inadequacy as parents more often than did the women from the Phase II sample.

The emotional stress of their work also placed greater demands on their family members to help them find ways to release the tension built up during the day. And the rigidity of short term leave policies, in particular, in many cases had forced these women's husbands to take greater roles in the care of the home and/or children. This had particularly influenced fathers with job flexibility both to spend more time driving children to and from school, doctors and day care and to take a more active role in communicating with the children's teachers. In part, this fact, and the fact that so many of the female telephone company employees had remained--with few interruptions--in the labor force, and with the same company for so long, may contribute to the greater number of Phase I husbands reporting significant participation in the traditionally female, gender-stereotyped work around the home, as compared to Phase II husbands.

It was common for the long-term female telephone company employees to report that over the years their husbands had gradually taken on more of the household/child care tasks. A few of these women recalled a period when they had worked a shift which differed from a regular day shift as one which led to a sudden increase in the housework/child care duties of a husband. These reports were less common among the female bank employees, particularly in those cases where the mother had moved in and out of the labor force. It appears that the moves back into the home for mothers, whether full-time or part-time, tend to break up the building pressures for fathers and/or children to take on more of the burden of work in the home.

To summarize, by comparing the research staff's judgments of features of family work organization, judgments about the overall quality of family emotional life and relationships, and judgments about parental involvement in schools, with patterns in the mothers' employers' management policies/practices, we have observed some linkages among them. We have found associations in our interview data between spouses who agree on their family image and greater sharing of housework duties among family members (usually, but not always including fathers). We have also found associations between greater work sharing in the home and themes of "togetherness" in spouses' reports of family emotional life and activity patterns. And we have observed that among the families of the female bank employees there are more couples where both report that supervisors/employers are flexible with short term leave policies, and fewer couples where both report inflexibility from their employers. This trend, we have argued, when added to the reports of effects on family relationships of greater job stress from female telephone company employees, is related to the trend towards greater involvement of the parents in the Phase II group in the schools of their children, as well as more "togetherness" themes in their interviews.

The relationships between these job and family patterns are not suggested as direct or unidirectional. Rather, they have developed in interaction with each other, and changed over time as family dynamics, personal and couple priorities, and the work experiences of both spouses have altered or shifted in relative importance. While we have suggested that workplace policies may offer constraints or opportunities to parents in their family activities, there are examples of areas of family dynamics which appear to affect all families and which indicate the ways in which such dynamics mediate any direct impact of employer policies on family roles. In the following section we will discuss two such examples.

d. Gender Roles and Family Dynamics

The interviews with men and women also provide interesting examples of the ways in which gender roles (in the cultural and behavioral senses discussed in the Introduction) appear to affect family activities and relationships independently of the working conditions/employer policies of either spouse. One of the patterns we have noted earlier--the consistently greater likelihood for mothers to be more involved with children's schools than fathers--continued to exist despite the differences in workplace policies. In fact, rigid leave policies appear to have had a more discouraging effect on fathers' participation than on mothers'.

Two important general points emerge from this observation. The first is that while it is important to look at the kinds of jobs women have in order to see the effects of their employment on the family, the jobs of husbands have an equally important influence on family roles. This has both theoretical and practical implications. Were employers to assume that greater flexibility in leave policies is strictly a concern of female employees, and to grant this flexibility only to females, this might have little impact on relieving the strain on family relationships. As we have suggested, employer rigidity discouraged the samples' fathers from involvement with the schools more than it discouraged mothers. The result of policies allowing only women flexibility might be, in effect, to further discourage fathers from realizing their full parental roles.

The second general point is that there are aspects of parental roles that--while influenced by the jobs of men and women--nevertheless persist somewhat independently of those influences. These aspects are linked to gender roles. This is illustrated by the samples' mothers' continuing greater involvement with children's schools as compared with fathers', even when faced with greater job pressures and constraints. This pattern is reflected as well in the overall persistence of housework and child care as ultimately the responsibility of mothers/wives, even taking into account the great variation in the degree of involvement in such work on the part of husbands and children.

There are several additional pieces of data to support this observation. It has been explained above that in many families, either the wife or the husband or both spontaneously distinguished between themselves as parents by stressing the father's greater strictness or greater effectiveness in disciplining the children, or by mentioning the notion that the father should be the final authority with the children. We have classified the families according to whether at least one spouse asserted this view of the father as the main authority figure. Since this belief is central to the "traditional" patriarchal view of parental roles, we attempted to determine if there was an association between this belief and other features of workplaces or of family organization. We found no such patterns. Seventeen out of 30 families expressed this belief--seven in Phase I and ten in Phase II. In four of the seven Phase I families who expressed this traditional idea, the fathers were judged to "share tasks" significantly, and three were judged not to "share tasks" significantly. In only two of the Phase II families expressing this view were fathers judged to share work significantly, and eight were judged as not sharing. These differences appear to reflect only differences in the proportion of work-sharing fathers in Phase I and Phase II families; they do not reveal any link between father work-sharing and the expression of this traditional patriarchal view of parental roles.

No clear pattern links this belief to the strength of spouses' views about the importance of a mother staying at home with the children, nor to any particular type of Family Responses. This suggests that the persistence of some traditional patriarchal views of parental roles occurs independently of other aspects of response and adaptation to the realities of the dual-earner situation.

Additional data in our study are also suggestive on this point. In order to standardize the responses to parenting questions somewhat, and to facilitate comparison of responses from family to family, during the Phase II interviewing period several vignettes were added to both mothers' and fathers' interview guides. They described five common parent-child incidents; parents had to describe briefly what their response--and the reasoning behind it--would be to the children's behavior in the incidents described. Analysis of the responses (for Phase II families only) revealed no clear patterns of differences between respondents in different ethnic groups or in different types of jobs. What clearly emerged, however, were certain consistent differences in the responses of men and women.

Although overall, parents within the same family tended to agree on the action they would take--as did parents in general--the women's responses to several situations were marked by more unqualified emotional responses to the children than the fathers'. For example, in one story a five-year-old child is crying as the parents leave him with a babysitter and depart for an evening out together. The mothers tended to explain more to the child, to express more anxiety and worry, and to call home to check on the child more often than did the fathers. The fathers, on the other hand, tended to bargain with the child in their responses:

Father A: Okay, tomorrow you and me will go somewhere.

Father B: I told him we'd bring some candy. 'Be good and I'll bring you a surprise back.'

Father C: Get the kid off into something else, doing something else.

In another incident, an 11-year-old claims sickness and is refusing to go to school on the day of a math test. Mothers tended to reassure the child more and to give a "pep talk" about doing well on the test. While fathers, like mothers, responded that they would send the child off to school, their responses were more stern and emphatic.

Father A: Did you study? Are you prepared?

Father B: These are things that you have to learn to do.

Father C: Running away is not going to do anything. It's your fault if you don't make it.

Mother D: You can ease her mind somewhat by talking to her about her fears of the test and trying to help ease those fears somewhat.

Mother E: I think mainly what kids are afraid of is if they fail, you'll be disappointed.

Mother F: You're just afraid, that's all it is.

The consistency of these patterns of responses jibes strongly with the "traditional" patriarchal concept of parental roles mentioned by so many parents (i.e., regarding the father as the authority figure with the children). It must be noted that these responses also occurred within families where fathers were making--or had already made--adjustments in their level of sharing traditionally "female" work around the home and with the children.

This brings us back to the related general point about the importance of the influence of men's jobs on family and parental roles. The section entitled "Work and Family Histories" explored the interrelatedness of husbands' and wives' career patterns. The husbands of the telephone company workers tended to have stayed with the same company and within the same work career pattern more steadily than the husbands of the bank employees; this fact tends to parallel work patterns of the wives. Also, telephone company women had more often supported their families while their husbands continued their education in order to enhance the husbands' earning capacity. Furthermore, the plans of ten telephone company husbands to start their own businesses--compared to only two bank husbands--were in part made possible by their wives' reliable and substantial earnings. In fact, there is clear evidence among the sample families that one spouse in a couple tended to encourage the other to find or keep jobs of comparable status or income potential as his or her own.

The second element most important to a shared image of the ideal family--in addition to whether the mother's working outside the home was accepted--was whether or not the father was spending too much time and/or energy in his work relative to time spent with the family. In all but one of the families labeled "Conflict" (C) in both samples, a significant element of the conflict was the father's overinvestment in his work or jobs, either through psychological involvement and time, or simply through extra time put into work in part-time or full-time jobs.

In several cases where spouses had, or were currently having, strong conflict about the family image, the wives/mothers had envisioned a greater emotional and daily involvement of the fathers with their children and with the family as a whole than actually existed. Two such mothers expressed their feelings thus:

> Mother 1: What he wants is just business and making money and the whole rat race. I'd like to talk about just myself and the baby every now and then, just nothing really, not really a long conversation...To me, my family really comes first before anything and I won't do anything without consulting my family or thinking about how they're going to feel about it. I wouldn't have cared really if I like my job or if we worked for somebody for the rest of our lives or until we retired or whatever. As long as we have a good home life and we had a loving family and could share things and we had food to eat and clothes to wear. I didn't want us to be rich, but I wanted to be just able to buy or to do whatever I wanted within reason. And that's the way I wanted a family life. That was my dream for a family, but that wasn't my husband's.

> Mother 2: One thing we do differ on. My father, all he liked to do was fish and I had always said that when I got married and had kids, I wanted us to do things as a family together. Not just always be the mother and the kids going and doing things. And so far that's the way it's been. It's just been me and the kids going and doing stuff...Well, we differ on that. And I tell him, 'well gosh, we're supposed to do things as a family. We're a family, we should do things together." And so far we haven't.

In at least three of these families, the fathers expressed the view that their provider role should be sufficient, or at least was the one with which they felt the most comfortable. Here are comments from two fathers who had been "absent fathers," although the first father quoted had changed his career direction drastically in order to limit its demands on him and to save his marriage. He was, when interviewed, more involved with his family but continued to stress the provider role, even though his wife has a good job with good prospects for the future.

> Father 3: As far as the working three jobs, I think...due to the history of my being gone and the history of my wife being the center of the house, you know, the center of the family, the one that the kids went to, you know. And there was not a great need for me here. I think

> that I probably in my own mind feel that I perform a greater service by bringing home a larger paycheck in supporting them.

Another currently "absent father" in a family labeled "conflict," the spouse of Mother 1 quoted above, said:

> Father 1: I would rather have my wife home taking care of our daughter. Because I believe that I can handle the pressures that go along with working a job and still being able to come back over here (to his own business) because I'm used to it. I don't believe she could do it...and I don't really think my daughter is missing much by that. I have to be as much of a Poppa as I can, but I was raised by a Momma. And my Momma did a very good job. The Poppa is not as essential in nurturing. In other words, a woman is a better nurturing parent than a Poppa is.

Although these kinds of emphases on the primacy of the provider role for the father were extreme within the sample--and were expressed by a minority of respondents--they inevitably were associated with relatively high levels of reported conflict between spouses and sometimes between parents and children. In all families which reported having considered divorce, the fathers greatly stressed the importance of their provider role at the expense of other aspects of parental duties.

In two additional families where the father had attempted to enhance the family income through taking on an extra job or business, he and his wife appeared to have agreed that this was appropriate. But even though the spouses were judged to agree on "the family image" in this sense, both wives had responded to the absence of their husbands by becoming overwhelmed with the duties of housework, parenting, and job (both were telephone company employees). In one household, the housekeeping standards had dropped drastically; the mother had also relaxed discipline greatly with the children to make up for her absence and feelings of guilt, and therefore felt as though she had no control over them. As she put it:

> I know I need to be stricter on them than I am, but being away from them so much I hate to just stay on them. I guess I would have to say that I just flat give in to them too much because of my job. I mean, I don't like being away from them so much, and therefore I'm not strict enough in a lot of things.

The mother in the other case was also unhappy with the state of the housework, and she expressed extreme anxiety about her children's behavior and about the quality of her own performance as a wife and mother.

It is revealing to examine the contrasts between fathers' interpretations of their role in these "father absent" and "conflict" families and fathers' responses in "togetherness" families. Among the latter, there were two general patterns evident in the interviews. The fathers in "togetherness" families appeared to have generally reached some kind of balance in the emphasis they placed on their job and career and on their participation in family life. In several cases this meant that they (1) had turned down or quit jobs which made excessive demands on their time and energy, or (2) that they had simply adjusted their career ambitions to a point where their jobs or careers were not of greater importance to them than their families, or at least were not in direct conflict with them.

A Togetherness response was more consistently associated in the Phase I sample with a significant level of husband participation in household and child care chores than in the Phase II sample. The major exception to this association was with the Phase II Mexican American and Black families. The fact that these husbands, in comparison to the husbands of the Anglo bank employees--and to more than half of all the husbands of the Phase I sample--were judged as not significantly participating in the traditionally female areas of household and child care tasks would appear to be related to the differences in their wives' work histories and jobs.

In previous sections of this report, it was noted that while the entire sample of Phase II's female bank employees had tended to take longer and more numerous leaves from the work force for family-related reasons than had their telephone company counterparts, the types of jobs held by Phase II minority women tended, historically and currently, to be lower paying and less prestigious than the Phase II Anglos' jobs. Although several of the minority females had or were beginning to develop greater involvement in their jobs and careers at the time of the interviews, their general level of psychological and time involvement tended to be lower than that of the Anglo bank employees. This difference seems clearly related to the fact that their husbands were consistently less likely to have become significantly involved in household and child care chores at home. This does not mean that the husbands did not work at home, but rather that they didn't do regular amounts of gender-stereotyped work. In any case, several of these husbands of women becoming more involved in their jobs were, when interviewed, likewise becoming more involved in traditionally female tasks at home; their families were labeled "Transition." In other cases, the children were judged as sharing a great deal of the housework and/or child care burden, thereby easing the pressures on the mother and the stress on the entire family.

However, even without the father's significant participation in housework, several of these families had achieved a sense of "togetherness." As stated above, the Phase I sample revealed that such significant task sharing on the part of the husband was not enough to relieve the family stress of the dual-earner schedule or the particular stresses of the wives' or husbands' jobs--nor was it sufficient to unify the family.

These data, along with the interview data overall, suggest some general points. First, a change in gender-specific patterns of housework and child care should not be the sole measure of family adjustment to dual-earner pressures, although it is an important element of this adjustment. Furthermore, the amount of work taken on by the children is clearly important as a component of total family adjustment, not simply as a measure of "effects on children." In addition, the quality of family relationships appears to be closely related to the time parents and children spend in activities together--working around the home, participating in recreational or educational activities, etc. It is this factor, the time spent together on a regular basis, whatever the activities involved, that appears to enable a family to develop a feeling of "togetherness." When time together is added to regular work sharing around the home by all family members, a strong sense of shared identity and shared endeavor is more likely to develop. This appears to be crucial in families with as many emotional and time pressures to cope with as dual-earner families with young children.

D. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

At the outset of this project, it was argued that the impact of jobs on families must be studied from the job angle by looking beyond whether the mother works outside the home (mother absence) and beyond the relative income and status level of spouses' jobs. It was also suggested that "family" must be conceptualized in terms broader than the relationships between spouses or their gender roles. We therefore proposed to explore how the nature of women's jobs, as viewed by women and their husbands, influences the system of nuclear family relationships and affects parents' involvement with their children's schools.

By and large, the two types of workplaces from which the women were selected provided clear constrasts in terms of some key workplace characteristics. These included differences in the overall autonomy that women experience in their jobs, their wage levels, the style of supervision, and the availability or flexibility of short term leave policies. In addition, the phone company employees worked under contracts negotiated between the company and the Communications Workers of America, while the bank employees were not unionized.

These contrasts between the women's work conditions were examined in relation to the work conditions of their husbands and in the context of their work and family histories. Evidence was presented which suggests a link between low autonomy and rigid short term leave policies in the jobs of mothers and (1) greater stress and strain on the system of relationships within the nuclear family, (2) mothers' feelings of parental inadequacy, and (3) lower levels of parent involvement in the schools. This lack of flexibility in leave policies appeared to discourage fathers more than comparable rigidity discouraged mothers. It is important to add that the stress and pressures of women's jobs tended to occur with greater intensity during the family system's most vulnerable time. In general, when women and men first enter the labor force, the jobs available to those without higher education are low in pay and high in repetitiveness, long hours and close supervision; our sample's phone company employees, although hired with higher than average salaries, reported having started in the jobs characterized by the worst hours and the greatest stress and pressure, and because of low seniority levels, fewer choices about schedules and time off. This tended to coincide with their childbearing and early childrearing years, when the dependency of small children always places greater demands on parents. It is at this early stage of the domestic cycle that a father's career may often receive extra emphasis, and when he too is at a lower level of seniority. For the group of women who currently work in banks, the response to the combination of pressures from rearing very young children and occupying lowpaying and unrewarding jobs had more often led to periodic departures of lengthier duration from the labor force throughout their early family histories.

By examining the work and family histories of the thirty married couples in our sample we have concluded that many of the assumptions, implicit or explicit, which appear often in the literature on working mothers, dual earner or dual paycheck families, effects of working mothers on children, etc. must be ferreted out and carefully considered to determine their continuing usefulness.

First and foremost to require reexamination is the continuing emphasis on effects of working or employed mothers, which rightly implies that the fact of mothers' employment, the nature of her job and her attitudes toward it, have significant implications for families and children. However, this focus carries the additional and unwarranted implication that the fact of fathers' employment--and the nature of his job and his attitudes toward it--are not equally significant in their impact on families and children.

Among the couples in our sample who are in their mid 20's to mid 30's and among whom both parents have been working outside the home fairly steadily for the duration of their married lives, it has been impossible for us to separate the "effects" of one spouse's job from the "effects" of the other's job. Indeed, we have found evidence throughout our interviews of connections between the job choices and career decisions, job levels, salary levels, and attitudes towards jobs and careers of wives and their husbands. The husbands with the higher incomes within the sample tended to have wives with relatively high incomes (although the majority of husbands had higher salaries than their wives); spouses tended to indicate similar levels of involvement in their work, although women--particularly telephone company employees--overall tended to indicate less satisfaction with their jobs than their husbands. In cases where either the husband or wife was more involved with their job/career than their spouse, either the more involved spouse encouraged the other to increase their involvement with their own career, or there was a greater likelihood that higher levels of conflict in family relations would be reported by spouses.

The interdependence of spouses' jobs and career decisions included the common occurrence of a wife either leaving the labor force temporarily as the result of a husband's job-related transfer, or--more commonly--her changing companies or jobs for the same reason, often thereby retarding her own advancement within a company or work career. Although this had occurred among both telephone company and bank couples, it had occurred more often among the latter. On the other hand, more telephone company couples reported that the wives were able to assist their husbands in advancing their education beyond high school with their own (the women's) high salary and relatively secure employment, thereby enhancing their husband's earning power.

The majority of these sacrifices of one's own job advancement to accommodate that of a spouse were made by women (although they were seldom described by respondents as "sacrifices"), and it was commonly assumed (although not inevitably so) by both men and women in the sample, that men's identities were more tied to their jobs and to their responsibilities as providers while women's were in some basic way more tied to the family and childrearing. However, in our interviews with parents, we also observed an association among several indicators of the degree of cohesiveness or "togetherness" in nuclear family relationships and work sharing patterns, with statements by both spouses that their spouse and parental roles are at least of equal importance to their family as their work roles. In families which we judged as "togetherness" in emotional tone and activity patterns, fathers had often described making decisions at some point in their marriage about their jobs, careers, or work schedules which were strongly influenced either by their own desire to, or by other family member's need for them to, be available at home. Among those families judged to be in a situation of relatively high conflict, the overemphasis by fathers on their provider roles at the expense of other aspects of their family roles appeared to be either a major cause of conflict, or at least appeared to have increased the stress levels reported by their wives about child rearing, housework, etc.

Our study clearly provides evidence to support recent theories which posit that the greater the similarity of family and work roles between spouses, the greater the marital solidarity (except that in our study we refer to family cohesiveness or togetherness). Oppenheimer's (1977) theory of status compatibility among spouses in their jobs is one such theory we have mentioned. Simpson and England's (1982) theory of "role homophily" is another. Both theories have been advanced in contradiction to earlier theories, particularly Parsons', which assume that marital solidarity is enhanced when spouses' roles are complementary or more "differentiated" from each other.

We have also presented evidence for the importance of studying dual-earner families, or, more broadly, families of working parents, as a total system of relationships, including parental roles and relationships with children (and although we have not looked at them, relationships among children would also of course be relevant). The tendency in the literature to focus on the marital relationship and on gender roles specifically, in isolation from the larger system of relationships which include, but are not limited to, those two aspects of family relationships, may distort the data on families. Such narrow interests certainly limit the ability of researchers to understand the full picture of the pressures and pleasures in the changing lives of families today. We have observed that attention to the amount of responsibility for housework/child care given children in dual earner families can provide a fuller picture of the total family's adaptation to their situation, and provide a different perspective from that offered, for example, by the study of fathers' changing roles, or the effects of working mothers on children.

We have seen in our interviews clear evidence in the contrasts between phone company women's families and those of bank women, supporting our original hypothesis that the nature of mothers' jobs would have an influence on family roles. However, we have concluded that these "effects" can best be understood as taking place over time, and in a reciprocal interaction with spouses' jobs and intra-family dynamics. The evidence in our data support the idea that the women in jobs with low worker autonomy which were also rigidly supervised, experienced greater stress in the home, greater anxiety and doubts about themselves as parents, and tended to report more conflict in their family relationships in general. There is also evidence that the added strains of employers' inflexible or inadequate short term leave policies on families' emotional and time resources can discourage parents from involvement in their children's schools.

As we have stressed in earlier sections, however, family and work histories, and family dynamics (including gender role ideologies) are all mediating factors in the family/work relationship. In noting certain contrasts in the family patterns and work histories of female telephone company employees and the women bank employees of our sample, we confronted the broader questions of whether the workers' perceptions and values regarding their personal and professional lives are shaped by their jobs, or whether people select and remain with jobs which most closely suit their perceptions and values. We have concluded from our evidence that both are true, and that people's choices and priorities for their careers and their families develop and change in interaction with their working experiences and those of their spouses. Furthermore, their "choices" are constrained in very real ways by the realities of the labor market--the different kinds of jobs available for people of different genders, racial/ethnic backgrounds, and the general state of the economy at particular points in their lives. While we have observed that spouses tend to have achieved job levels which are similar, their jobs are difficult to compare on the same scale, since the jobs held by the sample were universally gender-stereotyped. Virtually all of the women occupied jobs which are "women's jobs," and thereby are a part of what has been termed the "secondary labor market" of lower-paying and less secure jobs reserved for women and for minority males. This points to the necessity to broaden the framework of analysis to include the structure of the job market and the differences in the availability of jobs for men, women, and minorities. We have seen in this report's earlier sections that an important factor influencing men and women's assessment of their jobs is their perceptions of the types of jobs available to them and to people they know. To some extent, this includes spouses--and it may account for the tendency towards "status compatibility," where one spouse's awakened sense of opportunity often influences the other spouse's view of their own opportunities.

It appeared that the minority females in both Phases showed greater tolerance of the negative aspects of their current jobs because of a sense of narrower opportunities and choices. In Phase I, they expressed overall a more positive assessment of the opportunities provided for their children and families by their relatively high salaries, as compared to the Anglo women. In Phase II, there was a tendency for the Mexican American and Black females to feel privileged to be working in banks, even though their salaries and jobs tended toward the lower end of the continuum of Phase II jobs.

In order to fully understand the willingness of the Phase I females in general to stay with jobs which made them so unhappy, and for Phase II females to have moved in and out of the labor force over the years, one has to take into account the limited job opportunities available to women in general, and to women with only a high school diploma in particular.

Evidence for this limitation is widely disseminated in the popular and scholarly literature. Even as this report is being prepared, a research report by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, appointed by President Reagan, reveals that "Blacks, Hispanics, and women are unemployed and underemployed in disproportionate numbers to white males." The Commission concludes that since these differences remain at virtually all educational background and age categories, "we must strongly suspect that discrimination continues to be a factor. We have been unable to find any other explanation for these persistent disparities" (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1982).

The effects of discrimination are evident in the lowered expectations or the sense of a "job ceiling" by women overall, by minority women most especially, and by minority males as well. The effects appear to be cumulative in this sample. That is, at each stage of the sampled women's work career and the domestic cycle, decisions or opportunities had been influenced by earlier decisions and opportunities (or lack of opportunities), as were perceptions of one's job and overall situation.

In addition, our research suggests that the spouse of an employee and her/his family as a whole develop a sense of what are acceptable or "normal" levels of stress, acceptable or "necessary" levels of income, and so forth.

This may explain how in the Phase II families, in particular the minority families, the emphasis on the importance of the wives' incomes to the family was not as great as in Phase I families, even though the former's salaries were much lower than the latter. This also, in part, had provided a way for sampled workers and their families to adjust over time to workplace policies which may have been having a detrimental effect on them. For example, in the Phase I sample, both spouses often stated that the wives were less patient with the children and less able to separate their jobs from their home life than were their husbands. It appeared obvious to the research team that this must in large part be due to sharp differences in job pressure and frustration levels reported by women and men in their jobs. However, few respondents made this connection. Instead, they attributed the difference in response to stereotyped differences between the genders or to idiosyncratic personality differences between husband and wife. Part of their adaptation to the women's jobs, apparently, had been to lose a sense of, or avoid openly acknowledging, the extent of the negative influence of the job on her and/or her family relationships.

We have paid less attention to the implications of salaries and benefits, beyond noting that they are of great--if apparently unequal--importance to all workers in the sample. By emphasizing the disadvantageous aspects of the rigid management and supervisory style of the telephone company for the families of our sample of workers, we have not intended to downplay the advantages of their relatively high salaries and good benefits. Obviously, their importance to the workers themselves, and to their families, made it worth the sacrifices involved in adapting to the supervisory style. The combination of a sense of job security, high wages, good benefits, and other general advantages of union representation had apparently contributed to the greater company loyalty and stable work histories of the telephone company employees in our sample. The relatively lower levels of company loyalty and less stable work histories of the current bank employees in our sample--particularly for those in the lower level jobs--were in part tied to the absence of the sense of job security, lower wages, and lack of clear procedures and possibilities for advancement.

Our findings clearly document that attitudes and feelings towards jobs are responsive to the actual work experiences and perceptions of opportunities of men and women, and how these feelings can influence their family relationships. This has very clear implications for researchers, labor and management, mental health practitioners and school and other officials interested in the quality of life in families of working parents.

It would seem that research on dual earner families, in particular, but family research in general, would do well to attend to the larger labor market and economic realities influencing the attitudes and decisions which men and women today make about their work careers and their family roles. We have indicated how this larger perspective is necessary in order to comprehend the different kinds of sacrifices made by women and their families in our two sample groups. At the same time, we have pointed out the importance of considering the effects of men's decisions about their work careers, as well as the effects of their employers' policies on their families. In short, family roles and employment experiences are intertwined for men and women through a process of reciprocal influences over the course of their work careers and family cycle. Neither one can be completely understood without taking into account the other. Researchers should be aware that these connections are not always seen by parents themselves, and that in fact, not seeing them may be one form of their attempts to adapt to the often conflicting demands of jobs and family, or to cope with feelings of guilt due to difficult choices which have been made as a result of such conflicting demands.

The importance to family therapists or to those interested in occupational health and safety of this lack of awareness of the effects of jobs on relationships within the home on the part of women or men must be emphasized. The fact that couples in the Phase I sample of telephone company employees tended to attribute the differential effects of contrasting job pressures to gender or personality differences, appeared to have enhanced the pressure women (or their spouses) placed on themselves, rather than relieve it. Therapists, along with researchers, must learn to think beyond the confines of the family itself in order to grasp the full influence of jobs on family dynamics.

For employers and personnel managers, as well as for union officials and labor activists, the importance of recognizing the broader implications for families of the choices and constraints which their policies impose on their workers should be evident. We feel that our data, along with those of other researchers (notably and most recently articles in Aldous, 1982) are beginning to provide concrete information about the ways in which leaves, scheduling, style of supervision, procedures and opportunities for advancement for women and minorities can influence the opportunities for parents and their children to work out satisfactory home lives together.

Our data provide striking evidence of a clear distinction between the effects of salary levels and benefits on workers' willingness to remain with a company, and the actual satisfaction of that worker with the job and her/his accompanying attitudes towards the company. Our interviews with both telephone company and bank female employees, along with interviews with their husbands, indicate that job satisfaction and involvement are tied very closely to a sense of some control over the organization and pacing of one's work, style of supervision which allows feelings of responsibility to grow and develop, and the conveyance of a sense of opportunities to expand in knowledge and/or experience into new areas of company operations. The positive effects of these aspects of management--which include a certain amount of flexibility in the application of family/personal leave policies--on workers' attitudes towards their jobs, was consistently observed in our interviews with workers at various levels of skill and education. Although we have not focused on the implications of this observation for the productivity levels of workers, the relationship is a logical one, and one which future research in the area of family and work will undoubtedly continue to explore.

Suffice it to say that a simple focus on salaries and benefits to the exclusion of other aspects of work organization, supervision, and leave policies--or vice versa--will provide neither employers nor labor with a full program for lowering turnover rates, increasing company loyalty, or increasing productivity among workers. And for those whose concern is to support the familial roles and parental responsibilities of workers, attention to all of these areas is crucial.

School administrators and personnel are among those with a vested interest in the enhancement of working parents' ability to devote time and energy to helping their children through the educational process. An important part of that process is parental involvement in schools. Our interviews provide evidence that in dual-earner families where both parents are employed full-time, employers' rigid short-term leave policies tend to discourage parents' higher levels of school involvement and, in particular, such policies tend discourage *fathers'* involvement even more than mothers'. The survey research of SEDL's Parent Involvement in Education Project (1982) provides further evidence that parents' *interest* in involvement in schools is independent of their educational level or occupational status, but that the *actual* participation was lower for working parents and for single parents. More than 2,100 parents in the six-state region of the Southwest often cited their experiences with school personnel as a contributing factor to their level of involvement with school programs. In addition, most parents strongly favored the planning of more school activities at times when working parents could attend (Stallworth and Williams, 1982).

Indications are clear that employers, unions, and school personnel, among others, should begin to recognize the important role that changes in their policies and plans can play in relieving the increased burden of stress and responsibility on working parents today. On the other hand, these same officials should also broaden their understanding of the ways in which their own operations can be improved through paying attention to the needs of working parents, and through increased cooperation in planning between schools, unions, employers, and organizations representing parents.

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F. APPENDICES

A. Description of WPP Study for SWB Employees

B. Interview Schedules Used for Phase I

C. Work and Family Environment Scales

D. Coding Categories for Phase I Interview Data

E. Interview Schedules Used for Phase II

F. Additional Analyses Using the Work and Family Environment Scales

APPENDIX A

WORKING PARENTS PROJECT

The WORKING PARENTS PROJECT of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory is conducting a small in-depth study with selected families where both mothers and fathers are employed full-time. The goal of the study is to learn what husbands and wives think about the effect of their jobs and work schedules on their family roles, and especially the ways they juggle the demands on them as parents and as workers.

The staff of the Working Parents Project, along with the National Institute of Education, which has funded the project, hope that interviews with parents about how full-time employment affects the everyday activities of their families can provide information to influence the policies of businesses, unions, schools, and other institutions and agencies which deal with families.

Recent statistics indicate that by 1990 more than half of the mothers of preschool age children will be working full-time outside the home. These figures indicate a significant change in the composition and functioning of the majority of American families. Through our interviews with husbands and wives, the Working Parents Project hopes to help translate these plain numbers into more personal descriptions of real families where both parents work at the daily tasks of maintaining a home, raising children and keeping the family together.

You have been suggested to us by the CWA Local 12321 as someone with the kind of family we would like to interview. In particular we wish to interview parents of young children between the ages of two and

12 with both parents employed full-time. We are interested in including families where the mothers work at different types of jobs where the demands and rewards of her work are likely to be different.

The interviews, to be conducted in your home or other place at your convenience, will deal with the following general areas:

* What is it like to be a full-time worker outside the home; what are some of the special satisfactions and unique problems that mothers experience in their paid employment.
* What is the effect of each parent's work experiences on their family life, especially in their relationships with their children.
* What are the concrete arrangements that parents have made to ensure that their children are cared for and/or supervised during the time that both parents are at work; what do parents think are the good and bad aspects of these arrangements; how do they manage to keep up with the educational needs of their children.
* How are housework and other family tasks and activities organized to cope with limitations of available time together.

Throughout the interviews, the main focus will be in determining how decisions about housework, child care, education, and family life in general are made. We are also interested in the resources and people that you rely on to arrange your daily lives as a two-working parent family.

The plan for the research requires that we do three interviews per family, lasting an hour to an hour and a half each. Two interviews will be with the mother and one with the father. We are aware that families like yours are very busy and that your time is precious. We will make every effort to schedule interviews at times which are convenient for you. In addition, we are offering $10.00 per interview to show our appreciation for your help.

All of the information obtained from the interviews is strictly confidential, and in no case will the families participating be identified. No person other than the research staff will have access to the information from the interviews, and any written reports based on them will not contain names or places that may identify the families.

THE RESEARCH STAFF

The research staff for this project consists of Renato Espinoza, full-time researcher, and Theresa Mason, half-time researcher, plus some secretarial help. Renato Espinoza has worked in educational research for over 10 years, developing materials and providing technical assistance to programs involved in parent education in several states. In addition, he has had extensive experience interviewing fathers and mothers of all ages and ethnic groups. He is married to a working woman and is the father of two elementary school age girls. Theresa Mason has worked for four years in research on families, and has interviewed men and women in subjects ranging from their jobs, their use of medical services, and their family lives. Her research has been directed at helping human service providers improve their work with their clients and communities.

For further information about this Project, please contact:

Renato Espinoza, Senior Researcher, or

Theresa (Terry) Mason, Research Assistant

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ABOUT THE SOUTHWEST EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT LABORATORY....

The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory is a private, non-profit corporation dedicated to educational research and development, and to providing technical assistance to educators in a six-state region. The Working Parents Project is one of many projects currently underway at SEDL, all dealing with different aspects of education and the role of family, schools, and the community. The Working Parents Project is contained within the Division of Community and Family Education.

All of our projects are subject to the review of our Division Advisory Board. The following persons are current members of the Advisory Board:

Ms. Barbara White
OK for Indian Opportunities
Norman, Oklahoma

Dr. Norma Hernandez
Dept. of Curriculum & Instruction
University of Texas at El Paso
El Paso, Texas

Ms. Hester Herbster
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Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Hugh Prather
Director of Instruction of Elementary Schools
Albuquerque Public Schools
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Ms. Mary Bryant
Executive Director
The Parent Center
Little Rock, Arkansas

FIRST MOTHER INTERVIEW

1. THE FAMILY IN ITS COMMUNITY (How long lived there? Where came from? Number of relatives and friends close by? How often see them?)
2. INTRODUCTION TO HER WORK AND FAMILY HISTORY (Education? Working mother? How long married? Ages and sex of children? Her age?)
3. EMPLOYMENT (Jobs she has had? How felt about them? Why left them? How family influenced by jobs? How family involved in decisions to quit, change, etc.? Child care arrangements and decisions, criteria, how were made?)
4. EMPLOYMENT WITH COMPANY LEADING TO CURRENT JOB (How came to company? Previous jobs with company and reasons for change?)
5. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT JOB (Nature of tasks? Training received? Physical setting? Social setting, co-workers, number and proximity? How work load determined and assigned? Variety in daily, weekly, monthly schedule? Closeness of supervision, frequency and mode? Type of decisions involved in daily work?)
6. SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK (Frequency and setting for socializing at work [talk about family?]? Relationships with supervisors? How well knows other workers? Socializing after work?)
7. FEELINGS ABOUT EVERYDAY WORK (Rewarding, challenging, satisfying, interesting? Tiring, boring, repetitive, monotonous? Stressful, predictable, relaxed?)
8. FOCUS ON REWARDS (Learning useful for other jobs within company? Learning useful in other settings [i.e., home, school, social life, etc.]? Specific skills? Knowledge? Self-confidence? Social contacts? What about job most rewarding? What about job least rewarding?)

9. FOCUS ON CONFLICT OR DISSATISFACTION (How responds or copes with stress, pressure, conflict? Interpersonal conflicts with co-workers? Conflicts with supervisors or management? Role of union in conflict, grievances?)

10. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION (Has considered another job within the Company? Has considered another job, occupation, elsewhere? Knows how to go about it [changing]? Discussed this with her family? How would change affect family?)

11. FEELINGS ABOUT COMPANY "FAMILY-RELEVANT" POLICIES (Sick and maternity leave? Shifts and overtime? Vacation? Influence of policies on her family life; adaptations?)

17. IMPORTANCE OF SECOND INCOME TO OVERALL FAMILY FINANCES (Relative importance of Mother's income; own or rent home? Special uses of mother's income? Joint v/s separate accounts and bill payments? Approximate total income for last year? If income could be made up, would she work?)

12. EFFECTS OF HER DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER (Good days affect home behavior? Bad days affect home behavior? How family adjusts/responds to work effects?)

13. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior? How negative aspects of work have affected home life? What adaptations has family made to her work? What adaptations has job [or career] made to her family?)

If time: (otherwise a general question)

14. EFFECTS OF HIS DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - FATHER (How good days affect home behavior? How bad days affect home behavior? How family adjusts/responds to these work effects?)

15. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - FATHER (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior? How negative aspects of work have affected home life? What adaptations has the family made to his work? What adaptations his work or career has made to his family?)

16. THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD CARE/AFTER SCHOOL CARE SYSTEM (Current arrangements, satisfaction, concerns? Alternatives considered, past experiences? Criteria for selection of current choice(s)? Decision-making process? Father participation in decision and implementation?

SECOND MOTHER INTERVIEW

1. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT (How does the family manage to take care of all everyday tasks needed to get everybody fed, dressed and off to school/work; specific assignments, responsibilities; fixed or flexible schedule; does everybody understand and accept system; how satisfied is she with the system)
2. SPECIAL RULES FOR CHILDREN AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT (Are there clear-cut rules set down for children's behavior, responsibilities, behavior with siblings, other children, parents or adults; how are rules enforced; by whom; how consistently over time and between parents; techniques used; types of rewards and punishments used)
3. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PARENTS (Do both parents agree on rules and techniques for enforcement; how are disagreements handled)
4. RULES FOR PARENTS (Have parents--individually or together--set rules for their own behavior as parents at home, like never argue in front of children, set aside time to talk, protect them from work-related moods of spouse, etc.)
5. EVOLUTION OF FAMILY WORK AND RULE SYSTEMS (How did family come to have their present systems; how were decisions made; main factors influencing system; effect of work content or schedules on system; child care arrangements influence on systems and rules)
6. FAMILY COMMUNICATION (How much they talk and know about each other's activities; is there a special time or place for communication; do all members participate; do they share hobbies, interests or other activities as a family or in pairs)
7. FAMILY TIME v/s PERSONAL TIME (Does she have much free time; what does she do with it; how do other members of family feel about it; are there

regular activities that the whole family participates in; how much planning is there; what do they do in case of conflicts over personal versus family time; how much parental control is there over children's time use; what do they do with vacation time-decisions, timing, etc.)

8. FAMILY IMAGES AND GOALS (Does she have specific images or goals about how she would like family to be, in terms of personal growth, individual pursuits, tone or quality of family life; are these images or goals shared by other members; do current jobs encourage/discourage attainment of goals and how)

9. INTERACTION BETWEEN FAMILY AND SCHOOL/CHILD CARE SYSTEMS (Relationship with the schools, teachers, and other caregivers; knowledge and approval of content of education; similarity in philosophy; mutual influences and participation)

10. PARENTING STYLE AND INFLUENCES (How she characterizes self as a parent; what have been the main influences on her style; especially important traits encouraged in children; methods and techniques used to encourage them)

11. PARENT SELF ASSESSMENT (Things she does particularly well as a parent; things she is disatisfied with and would like to change; what has she done to change them or how she copes with feelings)

12. PARENTAL ROLE NEGOTIATION (How much does her husband share her views on important traits and methods or techniques; how are disagreements resolved; what are areas of disagreement--examples)

13. ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE ORIENTATION (Are there lessons about life or work-related experiences she wants to pass on to children; would she like her children to have a job like hers; do they talk about the future; what is she doing to prepare them)

FATHER INTERVIEW

1. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT (Education and training; jobs he has had; how felt about them; why left them; how family influenced by jobs; how family involved in decisions to quit, change, etc.)
2. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT JOB (Nature of tasks; training received; physical setting; social setting, co-workers, number and proximity; how work load determined and assigned; variety in daily, weekly, monthly schedule; closeness of supervision, frequency and mode; type of decisions involved in daily work)
3. SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK (Frequency and setting for socializing at work [talk about family?]; relationships with supervisors; how well knows other workers; socializing after work)
4. FEELINGS ABOUT EVERYDAY WORK (Rewarding, challenging, satisfying, interesting; tiring, boring, repetitive, monotonous; stressful, predictable, relaxed)
5. FOCUS ON REWARDS (Learning useful for other jobs within company; learning useful in other settings [i.e., home, school, social life, etc.]; specific skills; knowledge; self-confidence; social contacts; what about job most rewarding; what about job least rewarding)
6. FOCUS ON CONFLICT OR DISSATISFACTION (how responds or copes with stress, pressure, conflict; interpersonal conflicts with co-workers; conflicts with supervisors or management; role of union in conflict, grievances)
7. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION (Has considered another job within the company; has considered another job, occupation, elsewhere; knows how to go about it [changing]; discussed this with his family; how would change affect family)

8. FEELINGS ABOUT COMPANY "FAMILY-RELEVANT" POLICIES (Sick and personal leave; shifts and overtime; vacation; influence of policies on family life; adaptations)

9. EFFECTS OF HER DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA (Good days affect home behavior; bad days affect home behavior; how family adjusts/responds to work effects)

10. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA (How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior; how negative aspects of work have affected home life; what adaptations has family made to his work; what adaptations has job [or career] made to family needs)

11. THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD CARE/AFTER SCHOOL CARE SYSTEM (Satisfaction, concerns)

12. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT (How satisfied with the system the family has evolved to take care of everyday tasks; how satisfied with his own participation and responsibilities)

13. RULES FOR CHILDREN AND PARENTS (How satisfied with the rules used for children and adult relationships and behavior)

14. EVOLUTION OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND RULES (Main factors influencing development of the system, especially his job's influence over form and/or content of system and rules)

15. FAMILY COMMUNICATION AND COHESION (How much he talks about and knows about other member's activities; special time or place for this; how much free [personal time] he has; how he uses it and how others feel about it)

16. FAMILY IMAGES (Does he have images or goals of how family should be; are these shared by others; do your jobs encourage the realization of these goals)

17. PARENTAL ROLE (How he characterizes self as a parent; what have been main influences; especially important traits or habits for children; methods or techniques used to encourage them; something he does particularly well as a parent; something that he has difficulties with; how he copes with it)

18. PARENTAL ROLE NEGOTIATION (How much does wife share views on important traits for children and methods or techniques; how are disagreements resolved; what are some areas of disagreement in child related issues)

19. ASPIRATIONS AND FUTURE ORIENTATION (Are there lessons about life or experiences that want to pass on to children; would like child to have job like his; do they talk about work future; what is he doing to prepare child for future)

APPENDIX C

Work Environment Scale Subscale Descriptions

Relationship Dimensions

1. Involvement	*Measures the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs; includes items designed to reflect enthusiasm and constructive activity.*
2. Peer Cohesion	*Measures the extent to which workers are friendly and supportive of each other.*
3. Staff Support	*Measures the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other.*

Personal Growth Dimensions

4. Autonomy	*Assesses the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. Includes items related to personal development and growth.*
5. Task Orientation	*Assesses the extent to which the climate emphasizes good planning, efficiency and encourages workers to "get the job done".*

System Maintenance and System Change Dimensions

6. Work Pressure	*Measures the extent to which the press of work dominates the job milieu.*
7. Clarity	*Measures the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated.*
8. Control	*Measures the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep workers under control.*
9. Innovation	*Measures the extent to which variety, change, and new approaches are emphasized in the work environment.*
10. Physical Comfort	*Assesses the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment.*

Family Environment Scale Subscale Descriptions

Relationship Dimensions

1. Cohesion	*The extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other.*
2. Expressiveness	*The extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly.*
3. Conflict	*The extent to which the open expression of anger and aggression and generally conflictual interactions are characteristic of the family.*

Personal Growth Dimensions

4. Independence	*The extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions and to think things out for themselves.*
5. Achievement Orientation	*The extent to which different types of activities (i.e., school and work) are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework.*
6. Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	*The extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual and cultural activities.*
7. Active Recreational Orientation	*The extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities.*
8. Moral-Religious Emphasis	*The extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values.*

System Maintenance Dimensions

9. Organization	*Measures how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring the family activities, financial planning, and explicitness and clarity in regard to family rules and responsibilities.*
10. Control	*Assesses the extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner, the rigidity of family rules and procedures and the extent to which family members order each other around.*

APPENDIX D

FIRST MOTHER INTERVIEW: CODING CATEGORIES

B	BASIC INFORMATION
FH	WORK AND FAMILY HISTORY CHRONOLOGY
MOT	MOTIVATION FOR WORKING, TAKING/LEAVING JOBS, FUTURE PLANS/DREAMS
ES	EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT CURRENT JOB, AND EFFECTS OF JOB ON HER
POL	STATEMENTS ABOUT WORKPLACE POLICIES
CONF	RESPONSE OF SELF, FAMILY TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, STRESS, DECISION-MAKING
W/F	EXPLICIT STATEMENTS ABOUT INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS, EVALUATION, REASONS, STANDARDS

SECOND MOTHER INTERVIEW : CODING CATEGORIES

TA	TASK ALLOCATION (THE SYSTEM)
CONF	STATEMENTS ABOUT RESPONSES OF SELF TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, NEGOTIATION AND DECISION-MAKING
WF	EXPLICIT STATEMENTS ABOUT THE INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
FL	FAMILY LIFE
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

FATHER INTERVIEW (THIRD INTERVIEW) : CODING CATEGORIES

MOT	MOTIVATION FOR WORKING, TAKING/LEAVING JOBS, INCLUDING FUTURE PLANS/DREAMS
ES	EVALUATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT CURRENT JOB, EFFECTS ON HIM
POL	STATEMENTS ABOUT EFFECTS OF WORKPLACE POLICIES
TA	TASK ALLOCATION (THE SYSTEM)
CONF	RESPONSES TO CONFLICT, CHANGE, NEGOTIATION AND DECISION-MAKING
WF	INTERRELATEDNESS OF WORK AND FAMILY
PAR	PARENTING/SOCIALIZATION RELATED COMMENTS
FL	FAMILY LIFE
CC	CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

APPENDIX E

FIRST MOTHER INTERVIEW

1. THE FAMILY IN ITS COMMUNITY

How long lived there? Where came from?

Number of relatives and friends close by? How often see them?

Why picked this particular neighborhood? How like it for rearing children?

2. INTRODUCTION TO HER WORK AND FAMILY HISTORY

Education?

Did own mother work outside home?

Did she plan to work outside home after marriage? How did husband feel about that?

3. EMPLOYMENT AND FAMILY HISTORY: INTERRELATIONSHIP

Jobs she has had? How felt about them? Why left them?

How family influenced by jobs? How family involved in decisions to quit, change, etc.?

Child care arrangements and decisions, criteria, how were made?

4. EMPLOYMENT WITH COMPANY LEADING TO CURRENT JOB

How and why came to company?

Previous jobs with company and reasons for change?

How did family influence changes made within the company or vice versa?

5. DESCRIPTION OF CURRENT JOB

Nature of tasks? Training received? Physical setting?

Social setting, co-workers, number and proximity?

How work determined and assigned?

Variety in daily, weekly, monthly schedule?

Closeness of supervision, frequency and mode?

Type of decisions involved in daily work?

6. SOCIAL RELATIONS AT WORK

Frequency and setting for socializing at work (talk about family?)?

Relationships with supervisors?

How well knows other workers? Socializing after work?

7. FEELINGS ABOUT EVERYDAY WORK

Rewarding, challenging, satisfying, interesting?

Tiring, boring, repetitive, monotonous?

Stressful, predictable, relaxed?

8. FOCUS ON REWARDS

Learning useful for other jobs within company?

Learning useful in other settings (i.e., home, school, social life, etc.)?

Specific skills? Knowledge?

Self-confidence? Social contacts?

What about job is most rewarding? What about job is least rewarding?

9. FOCUS ON CONFLICT OR DISSATISFACTION

How responds or copes with stress, pressure, conflict?

Interpersonal conflicts with co-workers?

Conflicts with supervisors or management?

Is there a formal grievance procedure?

10. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION

Have you considered another job within the company?

Have you considered another job, occupation, elsewhere? Do you know how to go about it (changing)?

Have you discussed this with your family? How would change affect family?

11. WORKPLACE POLICIES THAT AFFECT FAMILY/FAMILY LIFE

Work schedule; can she adjust it to meet her/family needs?

Sick and personal leave; flexibility, availability, penalties

Accessibility to family and children; telephone use at work

Promotion and transfer within company; within city

Wages/salary and benefits package; usefulness to family, options

What is your annual income? Total family income?

Family effects on job, occupation, promotion or transfer; has she turned down promotions/relocations because of family?

12. IMPORTANCE OF SECOND INCOME TO OVERALL FAMILY FINANCES

Relative importance of mother's income. Own or rent a home?

Special uses of mother's income?

Joint vs. separate accounts and bill payments?

If income could be made up, would she work?

13. EFFECTS OF HER DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER

Good days affect home behavior? Bad days affect home behavior?

How family adjusts/responds to work effects?

14. LONG TERM EFFECTS OF WORK AT HOME AND VICE-VERSA - MOTHER

How positive aspects of work have affected home behavior?

How negative aspects of work have affected home life?

What adaptations has family made to her work? What adaptations has job (or career) made to her family?

(Interviewer: At this point ask questions from Survey of Child Care form, beginning with Questions #16 through yellow sheets for all children 12 or under. After completing forms while taping their responses, finish the interview with the following questions if you feel that they have not already been answered.)

15. THE FAMILY AND THE CHILD CARE/AFTER SCHOOL CARE SYSTEM

Alternatives considered, past experiences with child care?

Criteria for selection of current choice(s)? Decision-making process?

Father participation in decision and implementation?

SECOND MOTHER INTERVIEW*

*(The interviewer should be aware that while you are interviewing one parent there are two parents in this household. Whenever it seems relevant or possible, probe for the similarities and differences in the views and approaches of the mother and father towards caring for and rearing the children. If differences are mentioned, ask how these are resolved or handled. Do this throughout the interview whenever it seems most appropriate. Of course, it should go without saying that you constantly probe for the mutual effects of jobs and family life!)

1. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT

- How does the family manage to take care of all everyday tasks needed to get everybody fed, dressed and off to school/work?
- Are there specific chore assignments, responsibilities for keeping the household clean and running? How are these decisions made?
- Who takes most of the responsibility for seeing things get done?
- How satisfied are you with the routine?
- Has the routine changed much over the years? What do you think influenced the changes?

2. HOUSEHOLD CHORES AND CHILDREN (Focus on elementary school aged children.)

- Do the children have regular chores? What are they?
- How were these decided upon? What happens if the kids want to change this?
- Who watches to see if the children do them?
- What happens if they don't do them?
- What is your reasoning for giving (or not giving) your children these responsibilities?
- Do you give them allowances? Do you let them spend the money as they wish, or do you influence their decisions? Why?

3. FAMILY COMMUNICATION

- How much do you and your family talk and know about each other's activities?
- Is there a special time and place when talking is easier or when you learn the most about each other's day?
- How much do you talk to your husband about your job? Vice versa?
- How much do your children tell you about their activities?

4. FAMILY ACTIVITIES

- What do you and the other individuals in your family do for fun or relaxation in your spare time? (hobbies, recreation)
- How often or regularly do you and the others participate in these activities?
- Do family members support or resist each other's separate activities? How are conflicts resolved?
- Are there activities that some or all family members regularly participate in together? Give some examples. Does this take a lot of planning or scheduling?

5. FAMILY IMAGE

- Is your family like what you'd like it to be? Is it what you'd always imagined or hoped it would be?
- Do you think your husband shares your ideas about the way a family should be? What would he like family life to be like? Have either of you tried to influence the view of the other in this area? If so, how?
- Do you think your job contributes to or takes away from your desires for your family life? How about your husband's job?

6. INTERACTION BETWEEN PARENTS AND SCHOOL (Focus on elementary school aged child.)

- Does your child bring home schoolwork regularly? Do you have problems getting him/her to do homework?
- Is there any special time/place to do homework?
- How do you try to enforce this? Does this method work? Do you and your husband agree on how to handle these things? If not, how do you resolve your differences?
- How much do you and your husband know about your child's daily life at school? How do you and your husband find out about this?
- Do you and your husband approve of the way your children are being taught? approve of what they are being taught in school? Why?
- Have you and your husband ever spoken to your child's teacher about these kinds of things? to a school administrator? Do you attend teacher's conferences regularly? PTA or parent meetings? Do you and your husband agree on how to handle these things? If not, how do you resolve conflicts?

(Prove for effect of jobs or work schedules on all this.)

7. SOCIALIZATION TECHNIQUE

- Is there some trait or characteristic which you and your husband really try to encourage your child(ren) to develop? What is it?
- Why do you think this trait is so important?
- How do you try to instill or encourage this trait?
- In thinking about it, do you believe your job or work experience has influenced you to value this trait?

8. PARENT SELF-ASSESSMENT

- What do you think you do particularly well as a parent?
- What are some aspects of yourself as a parent that you are dissatisfied with and would like to change?

9. ASPIRATIONS AND PLANS FOR CHILDREN

- Are there lessons about life or work-related experiences you want to pass on to your children?
- Would you like your children to have a job like yours someday? Why?
- What would you like for your children to do when they are grown?
- What are you and your husband doing to prepare them for the world of work?

10. VIGNETTES

The following stories describe some situations that could come up between parents and children. Please pretend that you are the parent of the child presented in each story. Some of the children in the stories will be older or younger than your own children, but please go ahead and pretend that you are the parent of that child. After listening to the story, tell me what you would say and do. There is no right or wrong answer; this is not a test, so don't worry about that; just tell me what you would really say or do in each situation.

FATHER INTERVIEW

(Remember to be aware of similarities and differences with wife and how they are resolved. Also remember to probe family influences in his daily work and longer term career plans.)

1. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

   Education and training

   Major previous jobs; how he felt; why he quit/left them

   How his family was influenced by previous jobs

   How family affected decisions to stay or quit on previous jobs

2. CURRENT JOB

   Nature of the tasks performed

   Physical setting

   Social setting, social relations at work and after work

   Work load assignments; variety of tasks

   Decisions and supervision

3. FEELINGS ABOUT JOB AND REWARDS

   Everyday feelings; tired, bored, challenged, interested, etc.

   Rewards; learning useful in other settings, specific skills

   Social contacts, self-confidence, etc.

4. CONFLICT AND STRESS

   How he responds to stress, pressure

   Interpersonal conflicts with co-workers, supervisors

5. FUTURE WORK ORIENTATION

   Plans for moving within same company, within same occupation

   Plans to change company or occupation, to relocate elsewhere

   Has family been consulted, involved in decisions about his job?

   Anticipated effects of change on the family

   If salary were provided by Fairy Godmother, would you continue to work?

6. WORKPLACE POLICIES THAT AFFECT FAMILY/FAMILY LIFE

Work schedule; can he adjust it to meet his/family needs?

Sick and personal leave; flexibility, availability, penalties

Accessibility to family and children; telephone use at work

Promotion and transfer within plant; within city

Wages/salary and benefits package; usefulness to family, options

What is your annual income? Total family income?

Family effects on job, occupation, promotion or transfer; has he turned down promotions/relocations because of family?

7. EFFECTS OF DAILY WORK AT HOME AND VICE VERSA

How good days affect home behavior and relations

How bad days affect home behavior and relations

How does family adjust to/respond to work effects

8. LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF JOB/WORK AT HOME AND VICE VERSA

How positive features of job have affected family life

How negative features of job have affected family life

Adaptations of family to his work/career/occupation

Adaptations of work/career to family needs

9. FAMILY ORGANIZATION AND HOME MANAGEMENT

How satisfied is he with routine that family has developed?

How satisfied is he with his own participation in daily routine?

How is the routine decided upon? How are conflicts handled?

10. FAMILY COMMUNICATION

How much does he know about other family members' activities?

Is there time, place or occasion when they talk?

How much does he and his wife talk about each other's jobs?

How much do children tell him about their activities?

11. FAMILY ACTIVITIES

What does he do for fun and relaxation? How often?

What does the whole family do for recreation? Social life?

How are family and individual activities coordinated, scheduled? How are conflicts resolved?

12. FAMILY IMAGE/IDEAL FAMILY

Is your family like what you'd like it to be? Is it what you had imagined or hoped it would be?

Do you think your wife shares your ideas about the way the family should be? How are they different? Have either or you tried to influence the other in this area? If so, how?

Do you think your job contributes or takes away from your desires for your family life? How about her job?

13. SOCIALIZATION TECHNIQUES

Is there a trait or characteristic that you and your wife really try to encourage your child(ren) to develop? What is it?

Why do you think this trait is so important?

How do you try to instill and encourage this trait?

Do you believe your job or work experience has influenced you to value this trait?

14. PARENT SELF-ASSESSMENT

What do you think you do particularly well as a parent?

What are some aspects of yourself as a parent that you would like to change?

15. ASPIRATIONS AND PLANS FOR CHILDREN

Are there lessons about life or work related experiences you want to pass on to your children?

Would you like your child(ren) to have a job like yours someday? Why?

What would you like for children to do when they are grown?

What are you doing to prepare them for the world of work?

16. VIGNETTES

The following stories describe some situations that could come up between parents and children. Please pretend that you are the parent of the child presented in each story. Some of the children will be older or younger than your own children, but please go ahead and pretend that you are the parent of that child. After listening to the story, tell me what you would say and do. There is no right or wrong answer; this is not a test, so please don't worry about that; just tell me what you would really say and do in each situation.

VIGNETTES: LIST OF STORIES AND PROBES

Story 1

You and your husband (wife) are going out for the evening. As you say goodbye to your six year old, John, he begins to cry very hard, crying for you not to go. He doesn't seem to be sick and the babysitter has stayed with him before without any problems.

Story 2

Your ten year old daughter has been studying for a math test she is dreading. The morning of the test you notice her stalling around, about to be late for school. When you remind her to hurry up and go to school, she says she is sick.

Story 3

You have been working hard all day and are feeling tired. You finally sit down and begin to relax. You have started reading the newspaper or watching TV when your nine year old calls for you to come and look at something she did in her room.

Story 4

You made an agreement with your ten year old son to do a particular household job for extra money. This is the first time you have worked out a money reward for his doing any extra chores. When you inspect his work you find that he has not done a good job, yet he still expects to get paid.

Story 5

The school principal has just called you at work. Your six year old son, Ronnie, has been in a fight at school. He has a black eye and a cut lip; so does the other student. Ronnie says the other boy started it by calling him a "punk."

Probes

a. What would you do?

b. Tell me the reasoning behind your response.

c. What do you think are the thoughts and feelings of the people in this story?

d. How would your husband/wife participate and respond if he/she were present? Would you be likely to disagree on how to handle this? If so, how would you work this out?

APPENDIX F. ADDITIONAL ANALYSES PERFORMED WITH THE WORK AND FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

In an effort to obtain an independent and easily quantifiable assessment of important aspects of the jobs and the families in the sample, the Work Environment Scale and the Family Environment Scale (Moos, R. H., and Others, 1974) were administered to both husbands and wives. When these particular instruments were suggested by one of the outside reviewers, there was concern with the amount of additional time that it would require to complete the forms. The full scales consist of 90 statements each, which are answered true or false in separate answer sheets. In order to maintain integrity of the actual interviews, the decision was made to give subjects a 40-item Short Form of the Work Environment Scale in advance, and a 40-item Family Environment Scale for them to fill out during the interviews.

The Work Environment Scale (WES) and the Family Environment Scale (FES) are based on a conceptualization of the nature of the social climate of various social groupings. The conceptual background for the various scales developed was presented by Moos in an overview (Moos, 1974), and relies heavily on the concept of "environment press," a characteristic of social environments which is inferred to be related to each one of the major dimensions along which social environments are structured.

The final 90 items selected for inclusion in each scale were taken from a larger pool of items administered to large samples. Details of the test construction methodology used are presented in Moos and Others (1974).

The Work Environment Scale (WES) was designed to assess the social climate of all types of work units. It focuses on the measurement and description of the interpersonal relationships among employees and between managers and employees, on the directions of personal growth and development which are emphasized in each work unit, and on aspects of the basic organizational structure of the work unit.

The 90 items of the Total Scale and the 40 items of the Short Form are organized in the form of ten (10) sub-scales and arranged within three (3) major dimensions. The dimensions and scales for the Work Environment Scale are:

Relationship Dimensions

1.	Involvement	Measures the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs; includes items designed to reflect enthusiasm and constructive activity.
2.	Peer Cohesion	Measures the extent to which workers are friendly and supportive of each other.
3.	Staff Support	Measures the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other.

Personal Growth Dimenions

4.	Autonomy	Assesses the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions. Includes items related to personal development and growth.
5.	Task Orientation	Assesses the extent to which the climate emphasizes good planning, efficiency and encourages workers to "get the job done."

System Maintenance and System Change Dimensions

6.	Work Pressure	Measures the extent to which the press of work dominates the job milieu.
7.	Clarity	Measures the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated.
8.	Control	Measures the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep workers under control.

9.	Innovation	Measures the extent to which variety, change, and new approaches are emphasized in the work environment.
10.	Physical Comfort	Assesses the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment.

The Family Environment Scale was designed to assess the social climates of all types of families. It focuses on the measurement and description of the interpersonal relationships among family members, on the directions of personal growth which are emphasized in the family, and on the basis of organizational structure in the family.

The 90 items of the full scale and the 40 items of the Short Form are organized into ten (10) sub-scales within the three (3) major dimensions of social climate. They are as follows:

Relationship Dimensions

1.	Cohesion	The extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other.
2.	Expressiveness	The extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly.
3.	Conflict	The extent to which the open expression of anger and aggression and generally conflictive interactions are characteristic of the family.

Personal Growth Dimenions

4.	Independence	The extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions and to think things out for themselves.
5.	Achievement Orientation	The extent to which different types of activities (i.e., school and work) are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework.

6.	Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	The extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual and cultural activities.
7.	Active Recreational Orientation	The extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities.
8.	Moral-Religious Orientation	The extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values.

System Maintenance Dimensions

9.	Organization	Measures how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring the family activities, financial planning, and explicitness and clarity in regard to family rules and responsibilities.
10.	Control	Assesses the extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner, the rigidity of family rules and procedures and the extent to which family members order each other around.

The reliability and validity data supporting these scales has been accumulating since the publication of the Scales in 1974. (See Moos and Others 1979, for an Annotated Bibliography.) The 1974 manual which accompanied the Scales was entitled, "Preliminary Manual." Separate manuals with revised normative data were published by Moos (1981) and Moos and Moos (1981). In these definitive manuals, unfortunately, all mention of the Short Forms was omitted.

The potential difficulties involved in using scales based on four items were apparent when the data from the first year sample was analyzed. The raw scale score means and standard deviations for the normative sample were used as a baseline to compare our first year sample; tentative findings were reported in our Interim Report (Fourth Interim Report, Phase I, Family and Community Studies Project, September 1, 1981 to November 30, 1981). Preliminary analysis of the item-scale correlations

(Alpha Coefficients) had cast doubts about the reliability of the scales and the profiles derived from them, so it was decided to administer the full 90 items to the second sample in an effort to increase the reliability of the scores to be derived. A comparison of the reliability estimates obtained for the 40 item Short Form of WES (n = 27), for the 40 items of both samples combined (scores only for first 40 items, the same ones used for the Short Form, n = 53) and the full 90 items form administered to be second sample (n = 26) is presented in Table 1.

The Alpha estimates for the ten sub-scales of the Work Environment Scale range from .00 to .80 for the first phase sample, from .02 to .77 for the total sample and from .47 to .83 for the 90 item version used with the second phase sample. It is clear that increasing the sample size did not increase the Alphas; on the contrary, five estimates were lower and five were slightly higher. The use of nine items for each scale, on the other hand, had some marked effects. In scales 1, 3, 9 and 20 it increased the Alphas .18 or more in relation to those for the 40 item Phase I sample. However, on scales 4, 6 and 7 the Alphas using nine items decreased, casting doubts about the magnitude of the improvement achieved by using the 90 items version.

The picture that emerged from the reliability estimates computed for the Family Environment Scale, presented in Table 2, was even more discouraging. For the First Phase sample, the 40 item scale yielded only one Alpha above .60 and three at about the .00 mark. The increase in sample size had an overall effect of increasing some Alphas, but it also decreased others which had been stronger in the First Phase sample. The use of 90 items (nine items for each scale) improved the picture, but still it left only two scales above .70 and four scales below .50.

After the first year data had been analyzed, several attempts were made to combine items and scales on the basis of their phychometric characteristics and in a way that made interpretation of the scores derived more meaningful in terms of the interests of the study. Items were selected from scales on the basis of their item-scale correlations and having close to an even split. Three scales were created with items from the Work Environment Scale and labeled "Interpersonal Relationships," "Autonomy/Self-motivation," and "Pressure/Control," with Alphas of .80, .83 and .71, and 10, 15 and seven items respectively. Adding the Second Phase sample, the reliability estimates were re-computed for the new scales. The total sample estimates are .81 for Interpersonal Relationships, .74 for Autonomy/Self-motivation and a low .47 for Pressure/Control.

A similar reasoning and procedure guided attempts to derive some meaningful scales using items from the Family Environment Scale. This was even more important, since the original scales had extremely low Alphas to begin with. Three scales were constructed using the same criteria as before, striving for interpretability as well as higher reliability. The scales were labeled "Cohesiveness" (8 items, Alpha = .70); "Openness" (9 items, Alpha = .48); and "Organization" (5 items, Alpha = 62). When the new scales were tested using data from the total sample, the added subjects affected the Alphas of two of the three scales; they were.71 for Cohesiveness, .22 for Openness, and .42 for Organization.

Attempts to derive profiles for jobs and family types by using the more manageable but still somewhat unreliable scales were, for the most part, blind alleys. One procedure tried with the First Phase sample is called Hierarchical Grouping Analysis (Ward, 1963). It involves a procedure to identify subsets of objects (in this case, people) which are more similar to each other than they are to people in other subsets. "Similarity" is defined in terms of profiles or patterns of scores on one or more variables. Once a set of meaningful "profiles" have been empirically extracted from the sample, individuals are assigned to that group to which their own score profile resembles most closely.

Using the revised three scales made up with WES items, the scores of the men and women of the first sample were used to generate three "job profiles." These empirically defined profiles were interpreted and labeled as "Good Jobs," "Dead-end Jobs," and "Bad Jobs." "Good Jobs" were characterized as having high (positive) Interpersonal Relationships, high Autonomy/Self-motivation, and low Pressure/Control. Those jobs labeled as "Dead-end jobs" are characterized by poor Interpersonal Relationships, no Autonomy or Motivation and very low Pressure and Control. Finally, "Bad Jobs" were characterized by bad Interpersonal Relationships, no Autonomy or Motivation, and high Pressure and Control.

When individuals were then assigned, on the basis of their own pattern of scores, to the profile that best fit them, some interesting patterns appeared. Among the Good Job holders, there were four couples, and the three closest patterns belonged to three professional/managerial level job holders. The Dead-end Job holders are four men and only one woman. During the in-depth interviews, they all had expressed feelings of boredom in their current jobs; they were either waiting for a natural termination (retirement or discharge) or looking around for something else; they felt wasted, unchallenged and over-qualified. All but one were minorities and all have unrealized higher expectations for themselves. Among the Bad Job holders, all but one are phone company employees, including two phone company couples. In other words, all but one are either female, phone company employees or both.

A similar methodology was used to generate "Family Profiles" using the scores from the First Phase sample. In this case, however, since the scores of husband-wife refer to the same family, the scale developers suggest that a "family score" should be used, as the mean of husbands' and wives' scores in each scale. This results in a more attenuated distribution, since extreme scores tend to be pulled-in towards the mean. The scores from 28 individuals responding to the FES were used to generate empirical profiles. The four group profiles were not easily characterized by simple labels; therefore, they will be described as Types I through IV. Unlike the job profiles, the labels "good" and "bad" are much more subjective and thus were not used. *Type I* families are tight, closed and messy. They are highly cohesive, but very closed to outside ideas or activities, and are moderately disorganized. *Type II* families are low in cohesiveness, moderately closed to the outside world, and pretty organized. *Type III* families are low in cohesiveness, neither open nor closed, but extremely disorganized in time and space. Finally, *Type IV* families are cohesive, open and organized.

The assignment of families to Types on the basis of their scores proved to be informative about the relative usefulness of "objective" measures when there is a wealth of information and knowledge of individuals and families obtained through in-depth interviews, such as those conducted in this study. The researchers found themselves judging the results of the quantitative analyses, scores and indices in light of this knowledge about the families, and thus trying to "explain" why a family known to be riddled with conflict and dissention could be grouped together with other families known to be cohesive. Part of the problem was found in the use of "family" scores as opposed to "individual" scores. When individuals were assigned to Family Types on the basis of their individual scores, only four couples ended up in the same type. The use of family scores to generate the actual profiles reproduced, with some variation, the basic four types.

As a final attempt to make sense out of the quantitative data and to relate in some way work environments and family environments, the three scores of each scale were used to generate just two profiles of jobs and two profiles of families. The profiles identified could easily be labeled "_Good Jobs_" and "_Bad Jobs_" and "_Positive Family Environment_" and and "_Negative Family Environment_." Not surprisingly, the _Good Jobs_ had positive interpersonal relationships, a certain amount of autonomy and low pressure and control. The _Bad Jobs_ were the mirror image; poor interpersonal relationships, no autonomy or self-motivation, and a higher degree of pressure and control.

The _Positive Family Environment_ was characterized by high cohesiveness, openness and independence, and organization. _Negative Family Environments_ were very low in cohesiveness, closed, and disorganized.

Various ways of examining the resulting classification of individuals and couples were tried, and no clear trends or associations were found between the quality of work and family environments. Again, the in-depth knowledge gained about the individuals and families through our interviews was used to judge the adequacy of the assignments of individuals and families to the various groups. Quality of family life was cross-classified with quality of _women's jobs_, resulting in a two by two classification table that simply indicated that in the sample there were more Positive

Family Environments and more Bad Jobs, but no significant departure from the expected cell frequencies. A similar table using the quality of men's jobs and Family Environment was equally unrevealing. A similar table including only couples in which both had either Good or Bad Jobs again did not reveal associations between the quality of the jobs and Family Environment as measured by our quantitative scales, which for the most part, in order to be interpreted, required our additional knowledge about the families, their work histories and their perceptions of their current working conditions and family life.

All the analyses discussed so far were based on our own version of the scales constructed from items administered to the sample, and for the most part using the first year sample data. Given the problems encountered with generating profiles and groupings, this line of analysis was not pursued with data from the second phase sample. Instead, we reverted back to the original formulation of the scales, and used each of the ten subscales as a separate score. Since the authors provided tables based on their normative sample, standard scores were obtained. These scores are normalized with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10.

The Work Environment Scale standard scores were analyzed using a three-way analysis of variance design, with Phase I and Phase II, called here "wife's workplace" (or simply workplace) as the first independent variable; Gender, used for husband/father and wife/mother as the second independent variable; and Ethnicity as the third independent variable, with Anglo, Mexican American and Black groups. The dependent variables were the ten sub-scale standard scores for the Work Environment Scale and the 10 sub-scale standard scores for the Family Environment Scale. All the scores were obtained by scoring the first 40 items in both the First and Second Phase samples.

For those sub-scales in which there are either significant main effects, interactions, or strong trends (P. = .10 to .15) a full table with cell means and a Source Table will be presented. For those scales in which group differences do not reach significant levels, only the cell means will be presented. Since these are standard scores, their deviation from the norm mean of 50 is of some interest as a gross characterization of the jobs held by these groups. The number of cases used for the Work Environment Scales is 56; data was not available for two Black males and one Black female from Phase I, and for one Mexican American male in Phase II.

1. Involvement is described as "the extent to which workers are concerned and committed to their jobs." The three-way analysis of variance is presented in Table 3. Only the Workplace by Ethnicity interaction reached significance, due in particular to the extremely low involvement of the Mexican American husbands of bank employees. These men, with only one exception, had the least desirable jobs overall, and so did their wives. This contrasts with the relatively higher involvement reported by both Anglo and Black men and women of the Second Phase. Compared to the normative sample, the men and women of the First Phase have low involvement, while those of the Second Phase are closer to the norm.

2. Peer Cohesion is described as "the extent to which workers are friendly and supportive of each other." The analysis of variance did not indicate any significant differences or trends. The Cell Means presented in Table 4 indicate that overall, these men and women experience lower cohesive relationships than the norm, and this effect is especially marked

for minorities.

3. Staff Support is described as "the extent to which management is supportive of workers and encourages workers to be supportive of each other." The analysis of variance reported in Table 5 indicates a significant interaction effect for Workplace by Gender. The women employed by the phone company report a much lower level of support than the women employed by the banks. The husbands of bank employees, at the same time, tend to report low levels of support in their respective jobs. There is a weak trend for a three-way interaction, reflecting the very low scores of Black women working for either employer and the low scores of the Mexican American husbands of bank employees. Compared with the norms, the Anglo women working at the banks report above average support from their managers, a fact that was very clear during the in-depth interviews.

4. Autonomy is described as "the extent to which workers are encouraged to be self-sufficient and to make their own decisions." The analysis of variance is presented in Table 6. Both the Gender main effect and the Workplace by Gender interaction are statistically significant. First, women report significantly less autonomy in their jobs than men; men are overall near the mean for the norms, while women's jobs had reported scores which average more than one standard deviation below the mean. The Workplace by Gender interaction confirms our initial observation that the women at the phone company perceived their jobs as extremely low in autonomy. There were no differences between two main jobs sampled, those of Operator and Service Representative, which were expected initially to represent extremes in a continuum of skill, income, autonomy and prestige. The situation for women who work for the banks, on the other hand, is clearly better in this regard. Overall, they report more

autonomy than the men, and this is particularly influenced by the above average scores for the Anglo women, who rate their jobs one and a half standard deviations above their minority counterparts as well as above their husbands' ratings of their jobs. Together with the Mexican American men married to phone company employees, who as a group have the highest educational level and mostly managerial/professional jobs, the Anglo female bank employees are the only two groups to score above the normative sample mean.

5. Task Orientation is described as "the extent to which the workplace climate emphasizes good planning, efficiency and encourages workers to get the job done." There were no significant differences between the groups on this scale. The Cell Means are presented in Table 7. The lowest scores, almost two standard deviations below the norm mean, were those reported by the Mexican American men married to bank employees. It has been pointed out before that these men, as a group, had the lowest level jobs and these scores probably reflect some deep feelings of dissatisfaction with their work situation. On the other hand, the men married to Black bank employees scored very high on this scale. Two of those men were career NCO's in a branch of the Armed Forces, while the other three had relatively structured jobs with objective performance indicators.

6. Work Pressure is described as "the extent to which the press of work dominates the job milieu; the extent to which there always seems to be an urgency about work and workers cannot afford to relax." There were no significant differences on this scale. The cell means are presented in Table 8. Although failing to reach significance, several hints of trends are present in the data. The work pressure reported by the phone company employees is overall one standard deviation above the norm, and

for the Mexican American women the means are two standard deviations above the mean for the norm and almost three standard deviations above the mean scores of their husbands. For the rest of the ethnic groups the perceptions of work pressure are relatively close, with the exception of the husbands of Black bank employees, who report much lower work pressure than that of their wives.

7. Clarity is described as "the extent to which workers know what to expect in their daily routines and how explicitly rules and policies are communicated." The analysis of variance did not reveal any significant differences or trends. The cell means are presented in Table 9. The means for the three ethnic groups of phone company women are somewhat intriguing. They suggest that communications with minority group workers are handled somewhat differently from those with Anglo workers, since all three ethnic groups included workers in similar jobs. A comparison between the scores of Operators with those of Service Representatives indicated higher scores for Operators, but that by itself cannot explain the ethnic differences observed. No ethnic differences were found among workers in the banks.

8. Control is described as "the extent to which management uses rules and pressures to keep workers under control." The analysis of variance is presented in Table 10. The main effect for Workplace is statistically significant, and it indicates that overall, women employed by the banks and their husbands report higher levels of control than those reported by women working for the phone company and their husbands. This is a somewhat difficult finding to explain. First, it must be recalled that this sub-scale had an estimated Alpha of 0.0. Examination of the four items, their item scale correlations and the responses' split showed that one of

the four items which make up the scale was totally out of step. It reads "...people can wear wild looking clothes while on the job if they want." Once that item was removed, the reliability estimate, even with only three items, rose to .53. That correction was not performed for the scale, since the conversion to standard scores was based on the responses to four (instead of three) items. With that caveat in mind, it can be speculated that the husbands of phone company women tend to lower the overall mean for the First Phase sample, and that the two Black husbands who are phone company employees themselves raise their cell mean to the level of the phone company women. The husbands of bank employees, on the other hand, report high levels of control, which tend to mask the large difference in scores for the bank women of the three ethnic groups. Anglo women, who tend to have the higher level, more autonomous jobs, report levels of control that are lower than those of minority women by more than one standard deviation in magnitude.

These results are hard to interpret, especially because from the information gathered from the interviews, it was expected that phone company women would report higher levels of control than bank employees. It is possible that the existence of a union, a formal contract and established procedures for grievances have the effect of attenuating the feelings of being under control and at the mercy of supervisors and managers in the case of phone company women. Similar protection is not available to bank employees, who have jobs with a high turnover rate, where there seems to be a large contingent of replacement workers ready and eager to take the jobs that are vacated.

9. Innovation is described as "the extent to which variety, change and new approaches are emphasized in the work environment." The results of

the analysis of variance are presented in Table 11. The Workplace by Ethnicity interaction is statistically significant. Overall, there is a marked contrast between the scores of Anglos and Blacks between the two phase samples. In the First Phase, Anglos reported innovation at their jobs to be about average compared with the norm, while the Blacks reported mean scores more than one standard deviation below the norm. The situation was exactly reversed for the jobs of Anglos and Blacks in the Second Phase sample. Examination of the means reveals relatively low scores for Mexican American phone company women, although their jobs are similar to those of their Anglo and Black counterparts. The low innovativeness reported by Anglo husbands of bank employees is rather surprising, since these men have jobs that tend to be more managerial/professional in nature. This is especially noteworthy if compared with the Mexican American husbands of bank employees, who as a group have the lowest level jobs of all the cells.

10. Physical Comfort is described as "the extent to which the physical surroundings contribute to a pleasant work environment." The analysis of variance, presented in Table 12, indicates a significant difference between workplaces in the overall comfort in favor of bank employees and their husbands. Even the husbands of Mexican American bank employees, who as a group tend to have the lower level jobs of the whole sample, report physical comfort levels that are higher than the norm. Also, minority bank employees seem to perceive their working environment even more positively than the Anglo women who have higher level secretarial positions. It can be speculated that this difference reflects a differential valuation of "clean" working environments by the groups of women; a similar trend appears to exist within phone company women. These minority women probably

use as a comparison or reference those occupations which have traditionally been open and available to people without education beyond high school and from which they feel they have been able to escape. Thus, in comparison with what could have been their future, which they see sometimes in friends and relatives, their present surroundings appear very appealing.

The Family Environment Scale for the total sample was scored using the original Moos key for forty items (those answered by the Phase I sample and the first 40 items of the 90-item form answered by the Phase II sample). All raw scores were converted to standard scores with a mean of 50 and a standard deviation of 10 using the tables provided by Moos (1974). In addition, "family" scores were obtained for each sub-scale by adding the raw scores of each couple and dividing the sum by two for each of the ten sub-scales, and then converting those mean family scores into standard scores using the tables provided. In the cases of missing data for the husband or the wife, the one scale available was used as the best estimate of that family's score.

The resulting "family" scores for the ten sub-scales were then analyzed with a two-way analysis of variance design with Wife Workplace as the first independent variable and Ethnicity as the second. Thus, a two by three design was produced. Only one of the ten sub-scales produced statistically significant differences. The sub-scale "Active Recreational Orientation" is defined as "the extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities." The analysis of variance presented in Table 13 shows a main effect for Ethnicity and a Workplace by Ethnicity interaction at the p. = .06. The Mexican American and Black families report significantly higher active interests and activities, with the Mexican American families of phone company employees reporting the highest scores and the Anglo families of bank employees the lowest. The cell means for all ten sub-scales are presented in Tables 14 through 23.

Taking individuals' perceptions of their families as independent, separate measurements, is similar to taking the perceptions of five telephone operators as five independent assessments of the same job. For this reason, it was felt that the scores of the Family Environment Scale could also be treated as independent responses. There was no consultation between spouses, since the scales were completed in the presence of the interviewers on separate occasions. Thus, a three-way analysis of variance design was used to analyze the individual responses to this scale. A total of 57 scales were completed. The missing scales are for one Black wife and one Black husband in the First Phase sample, and one Mexican American husband in the Second Phase.

1. Cohesion is described as "the extent to which family members are concerned and committed to the family and the degree to which family members are helpful and supportive of each other." There were no significant differences between groups on this scale. Overall, the means are above the norm for all cells, with the highest group being the Anglo husbands of phone company employees, who averaged about one standard deviation above the norm. The cell means are presented in Table 24.

2. Expressiveness is described as "the extent to which family members are allowed and encouraged to act openly and to express their feelings directly." There were no significant differences between groups on this scale. The cell means are presented in Table 25. Large discrepancies can be observed between the perceptions of husbands and wives for three groups;

both Black husbands of phone company employees and Mexican American husbands of bank employees report levels of expressiveness about one standard deviation above those of their wives, while Black bank employees report levels of expressiveness about one standard deviation above the mean of the husbands. These differences produced a trend for a three-way interaction which reached the p. = .12. Overall, Anglo husbands and wives reported levels of expressiveness above the norm mean and very similar for husbands and wives.

3. Conflict is described as "the extent to which the open expression of anger/and agression and generally conflictual interactions are characteristic of the family." The analysis of variance did not reveal any significant effects. The cell means are presented in Table 26. The overall mean for the groups is below the norm mean. There is some evidence of "masking" conflict for social desirability reasons. The two highest scores correspond to two individuals from families known from the interviews to be experiencing a high level of conflict. Their spouses, however, responded with a total denial of the conflict, and obtained the lowest possible score. No gender effect seems to be at work here; both husbands and wives engaged in this type of denial. For this reason, this scale, of considerable potential interest to the study, is for all intents and purposes of little value.

4. Independence is described as "the extent to which family members are encouraged to be assertive, self-sufficient, to make their own decisions and to think things out for themselves." This scale remained consistently at the bottom in terms of its reliability estimates. Not even the nine-item scale in the 90-item form could raise the reliability estimates. Therefore, the findings reported in Table 27 for the analysis of

variance should be looked at with caution. Examination of the extreme low and extreme high scores found two couples agreeing in their extreme assessments of their family environments, while one couple was split, with the husband scoring at the low end while his wife scored at the high end.

The analysis of variance presented in Table 27 indicates a significant interaction effect for Workplace of the Wife by Gender. While the overall mean is near the norm, husbands of phone company employees perceive less independence in their families than their wives do, while the opposite is true for the husbands of bank employees, who see their families as much more independent than their wives. This interpretation accepts at face value that the scores reflect independence, when in fact that may not be the case. One item reads, "We don't do things on our own very often in our family," and can be interpreted either as infrequent family unit outings (as opposed to with friends or extended family) or as infrequent individual activities by members of the family. Another item, which reads, "We come and go as we want in our family," has a different meaning depending on the age and sex of the children in the family.

5. Achievement Orientation is described as "the extent to which different activities, such as school and work, are cast into an achievement oriented or competitive framework." The results of the analysis of variance are presented in Table 28. Only a trend appears for gender, with wives scoring higher than husbands. If taken at face value, this trend would run counter to the prevailing notion that women tend to avoid competitive situations. It can be argued that this particular sample of women represent a segment which has in fact made it by competing and gaining a position of relative prestige or security, and thus more likely to value the kinds of efforts which put them there, while men take the positions they

have achieved for granted. The items themselves seem to have some face validity, but the Alpha estimates for this scale were consistently low (see Table 2). Examination of the highest and lowest scores revealed one family split between the extremes and at least two cases which judging from the more complete data gathered during the in-depth interviews, would not have been predicted to be in those extremes.

6. Intellectual-Cultural Orientation is described as "the extent to which the family is concerned about political, social, intellectual and cultural activities." There were no significant differences between groups on this variable. The cell means are presented in Table 29. Examination of the extreme scores showed that the high scores were produced by both men and women of all ethnicities and so were the low scores. There were no surprises in that group of extreme scores in terms of what we knew about those families from the in-depth interviews.

7. Active Recreational Orientation is described as "the extent to which the family participates actively in various kinds of recreational and sporting activities." The analysis of variance is presented in Table 30. Both a main effect for Ethnicity and the interaction effect of Workplace by Ethnicity reached statistical significance. First, Mexican Americans report a greater level of participation in sports and recreation, more than a full standard deviation above Anglos, with Blacks in between. The Workplace by Ethnicity interaction is produced by the Anglo women employed by the phone company and their husbands, and by the difference between Black families from the phone company, who are lower than those Blacks whose wives are employed by the banks. With the exception of the Mexican American families, this sample is lower in this scale than the norm.

8. Moral-Religious Emphasis is described as "the extent to which the family actively discusses and emphasizes ethical and religious issues and values." There were no significant differences between the groups on the scores for this scale. The cell means are presented in Table 31. The only notable fact about these scores is that overall, this sample is one full standard deviation above the norm. In the course of the interviews, some families spontaneously brought up examples of the ways in which their religious beliefs affected their adaptation to work and their family life. The topic of religion was not included in the interview schedules, because it was considered a private matter, and families would have the option and opportunity to bring it up if it was salient to them. Since this subscale is embedded in the total scale, these questions were asked in that context.

9. Organization is described as "a measure of how important order and organization is in the family in terms of structuring family activities." The results of the analysis of variance are presented in Table 32. The three-way interaction effect is very close to reaching the p.=.05 level of significance. This was one of the scales with a consistently higher Alpha estimate, compared to the rest of the scales. The strong trend for the interaction is explained by large differences between the women employed by the banks and their husbands; the women scored higher than the men among Anglo and Mexican Americans, but the Black men scored higher than their wives. Among the phone company employees and their husbands, minority wives tended to see their families more organized than did minority husbands, while the reverse was the case for the Anglo couples.

Overall, this sample reported higher levels of organization than the normative sample; half of the cell means are one standard deviation above the mean of the normative group. This is plausible since a higher level of organization could be required in order for the dual-earner family to hold two full time jobs and to maintain a household and enjoy a modicum of leisure.

10. Control is described as "the extent to which the family is organized in a hierarchical manner, the rigidity of family rules and procedures and the extent to which family members order each other around." This is one sub-scale with a very low Alpha estimate (.12 for the total sample and even a low .33 for the full nine-item scale). No significant effects were detected by the analysis of variance presented in Table 33, although there is a faint trend for a Workplace by Ethnicity interaction, explained by the tendency of Anglo families from the phone company to be lower than those where the women are employed by banks, and the reverse effect for Black families of bank employees. Overall, Mexican Americans report greater control and rigidity in their families than do Anglos and Blacks, although this difference is not significant (p.=.28). The overall mean for this scale is just about the same as that of the normative sample.

In summary, an attempt has been made to relate scores obtained with paper and pencil instruments designed to capture complex dimensions of the work and family experiences of individuals and families in our sample. Some serious concerns have been expressed with regards to the reliability of the scores obtained. At the same time, the validity of the scores obtained is somewhat suspect. Part of the problem is due to our decision to use the Short Forms of the Scales. Since the major thrust of our investigation relied on in-depth interviews, we naively expected that quantitative scales, easily scored, could provide ways to classify or group the families and help in our in-depth analyses and inferences. However, in this type of study, with this small a sample, and with the wealth of information obtained, the deeper understanding obtained by the researchers from the interviews *is the norm* against which scores can be made sense of, and not the other way around.

TABLE 1

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Item-Scale average correlations (Alpha's) for ten subscales and three groups

	SUBSCALE NAME	40 ITEMS PHASE I SAMPLE (n = 27)	40 ITEMS PHASE I & II SAMPLES (n = 53) (combined)	90 ITEMS PHASE II SAMPLE (n = 26)
1.	Involvement	.61	.70	.83
2.	Peer Cohesion	.62	.57	.63
3.	Staff Support	.61	.68	.78
4.	Autonomy	.73	.56	.47
5.	Task Orientation	.80	.77	.73
6.	Work Pressure	.78	.57	.65
7.	Clarity	.80	.73	.51
8.	Control	.00	.02	.52*
9.	Innovation	.61	.67	.79
10.	Physical Comfort	.46	.50	.77

* This Alpha was obtained after eliminating from the computations one item which was found to be responsible for the zero Alphas in the two previous analyses. This estimate would have been ever lower, although based on nine items, unless that item was removed. Removing that item raised the Alphas of the Phase I sample to .53 and the combined sample using 40 items to .47.

TABLE 2

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Item-Scale average correlations (Alpha's) for ten subscales and three groups

	SUBSCALE NAME	40 ITEMS PHASE I SAMPLE (n = 28)	40 ITEMS PHASE I & II SAMPLES (n = 55)	90 ITEMS PHASE II SAMPLE (n = 26)
1.	Cohesion	.56	.45	.69
2.	Expressiveness	.05	.40	.57
3.	Conflict	.64	.46	.71
4.	Independence	.00	.15	.00
5.	Achievement Orientation	.21	.14	.46
6.	Intellectual-Cultural Orientation	.36	.41	.54
7.	Active-Recreational Orientation	.34	.27	.44
8.	Moral-Religious Emphasis	.58	.68	.71
9.	Organization	.51	.46	.57
10.	Control	.00	.12	.33

TABLE 3

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Involvement"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	47.4	44.4	39.0
	WIVES	36.0	41.6	31.8
BANKS	HUSBANDS	50.0	24.8	64.2
	WIVES	55.8	35.8	50.2

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	103039.0	1	103039.0	284.8	.000
Workplace	626.0	1	626.0	1.73	.195
Gender	131.4	1	131.4	.36	.550
Ethnicity	1262.8	2	631.4	1.75	.186
W x G	224.2	1	224.2	.62	.435
W x E	2854.2	2	1427.1	3.94	.027
G x E	496.3	2	248.2	.69	.509
W x G x E	383.2	2	191.6	.53	.593
Error Term	15918.3	44	361.8		

TABLE 4

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Peer Cohesion"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	45.0	42.0	29.0
	WIVES	57.0	39.0	31.5
BANKS	HUSBANDS	42.0	35.3	51.0
	WIVES	51.0	42.0	39.0

TABLE 5

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Staff Support"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	51.0	51.0	36.7
	WIVES	39.6	36.6	29.3
BANKS	HUSBANDS	39.4	22.3	45.2
	WIVES	59.4	48.0	28.2

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	89904.0	1	89904.0	258.47	.000
Workplace	1.01	1	1.1	.00	.956
Gender	7.6	1	7.6	.02	.883
Ethnicity	1461.0	2	730.5	2.10	.135
W x G	1458.2	1	1458.2	4.19	.047
W x E	482.3	2	241.1	.69	.505
G x E	902.6	2	451.3	1.30	.283
W x G x E	1606.9	2	803.1	2.31	.111
Error Term	15304.6	44	347.8		

TABLE 6

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Autonomy"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	48.6	67.8	44.3
	WIVES	19.8	35.8	31.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	39.0	43.0	48.6
	WIVES	55.0	39.0	42.2

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	100380.0	1	100380.0	297.38	.000
Workplace	143.9	1	143.9	.43	.517
Gender	1783.6	1	1783.6	5.28	.026
Ethnicity	353.6	2	176.8	.52	.596
W x G	2414.2	1	2414.2	7.15	.010
W x E	1406.8	2	703.4	2.08	.137
G x E	323.1	2	161.6	.48	.623
W x G x E	820.2	2	410.1	1.21	.306
Error Term	14852.3	44	337.5		

TABLE 7

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Task Orientation"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	54.0	39.6	52.3
	WIVES	39.8	48.4	39.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	51.0	32.0	59.8
	WIVES	57.0	45.4	48.6

TABLE 8

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Work Pressure"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	57.4	43.2	52.7
	WIVES	59.4	69.0	55.5
BANKS	HUSBANDS	57.2	55.5	38.6
	WIVES	57.4	50.4	48.0

TABLE 9

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Clarity"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	53.4	41.0	41.7
	WIVES	40.6	56.0	49.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	43.4	27.0	50.8
	WIVES	50.6	48.4	48.2

TABLE 10

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Control"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	46.4	46.2	54.0
	WIVES	53.2	48.8	52.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	57.6	54.8	53.4
	WIVES	47.8	64.6	55.4

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	157568.0	1	157568.0	1557.29	.000
Workplace	700.5	1	700.5	6.92	.012
Gender	143.7	1	143.7	1.42	.240
Ethnicity	.3	2	.1	.00	.999
W x G	8.2	1	8.2	.08	.777
W x E	268.3	2	134.1	1.33	.276
G x E	88.7	2	44.4	.44	.648
W x G x E	119.5	2	59.8	.59	.558
Error Term	4452.0	44	101.9		

TABLE 11

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Innovation"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	50.4	45.8	34.3
	WIVES	50.0	32.0	40.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	29.8	37.3	52.4
	WIVES	38.8	41.2	48.0

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	94930.4	1	94930.4	405.17	.000
Workplace	9.8	1	9.8	.04	.839
Gender	1.1	1	1.1	.00	.999
Ethnicity	204.0	2	102.0	.44	.650
W x G	110.8	1	110.8	.47	.495
W x E	1916.8	2	958.4	4.09	.023
G x E	196.6	2	98.3	.42	.660
W x G x E	464.2	2	232.1	.99	.379
Error Term	10309.0	44	234.3		

TABLE 12

WORK ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Physical Comfort"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	57.0	52.2	45.7
	WIVES	42.2	49.6	46.8
BANKS	HUSBANDS	62.0	55.8	64.4
	WIVES	54.6	64.4	62.0

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	163701.0	1	163701.0	767.36	.000
Workplace	1846.6	1	1846.6	8.66	.005
Gender	115.9	1	225.9	.54	.465
Ethnicity	21.5	2	10.8	.05	.951
W x G	87.4	1	87.4	.41	.526
W x E	197.6	2	98.8	.46	.632
G x E	489.3	2	244.6	1.15	.327
W x G x E	133.0	2	66.5	.31	.734
Error Term	9386.8	44	213.3		

TABLE 13

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Active Recreational Orientation"

"Family" Standard Scores*

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
Phone Company Families	47.2	53.8	46.4
Bank Families	35.2	51.8	51.0

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	67877.6	1	67877.6	1233.76	.000
Workplace	73.6	1	73.6	1.34	.259
Ethnicity	692.1	2	346.0	6.29	.006
W x E	349.2	2	174.6	3.17	.060
Error Term	1320.4	24	55.1		

*Mean of husband and wife scores converted to standard scores.

TABLE 14

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Cohesiveness - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	58.2	57.0	53.4
BANKS	54.6	53.4	54.8

TABLE 15

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Expressiveness - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	56.6	53.0	49.4
BANKS	55.0	45.6	48.2

TABLE 16

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Conflict - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	45.6	44.6	48.6
BANKS	40.8	46.6	41.8

TABLE 17

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Independence - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	46.4	48.8	47.6
BANKS	52.8	52.8	42.6

TABLE 18

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Achievement Orientation - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	51.2	53.4	56.8
BANKS	53.4	52.2	53.2

TABLE 19

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Intellectual-Cultural Orientation - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	42.2	48.6	49.6
BANKS	46.2	48.4	45.4

TABLE 20

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Active Recreational Orientation - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	47.2	53.8	46.4
BANKS	35.2	51.8	51.0

TABLE 21

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Moral-Religious Orientation - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	57.2	57.4	62.8
BANKS	55.0	62.0	58.8

TABLE 22

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Organization - "Family Scores"

Two-way Analysis of Variance: Workplace by Ethnicity

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	55.0	53.0	56.0
BANKS	57.0	59.0	54.4

TABLE 23

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale Control - "Family Scores"

	ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE COMPANY	46.0	53.2	52.4
BANKS	53.0	55.4	44.0

TABLE 24

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Cohesion"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender and Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO	HUSBANDS	63.0	58.2	54.0
	WIVES	53.4	55.8	51.3
BANKS	HUSBANDS	53.6	51.0	55.8
	WIVES	55.8	53.4	54.0

TABLE 25

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Expressiveness"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender and Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO	HUSBANDS	56.6	51.8	56.0
	WIVES	56.6	54.2	44.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	54.0	53.0	42.2
	WIVES	54.2	42.0	54.2

TABLE 26

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Conflict"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender and Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO	HUSBANDS	46.8	41.2	46.3
	WIVES	45.2	48.6	48.8
BANKS	HUSBANDS	37.4	46.3	39.4
	WIVES	45.0	45.0	44.8

TABLE 27

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

Sub-scale "Independence"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	47.8	45.2	43.3
	WIVES	45.2	53.0	53.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	53.0	59.5	47.8
	WIVES	53.0	47.8	37.6

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	134734.0	1	134734.0	988.92	.000
Workplace	49.6	1	49.6	.36	.549
Gender	18.9	1	18.9	.14	.711
Ethnicity	357.7	2	178.8	1.31	.279
W x G	532.5	1	532.5	3.91	.054
W x E	385.1	2	192.6	1.41	.254
G x E	7.1	2	3.6	.03	.974
W x G x E	391.0	2	195.5	1.44	.249
Error Term	6131.0	45	136.2		

TABLE 28

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

Sub-scale "Achievement Orientation"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	51.4	60.2	55.3
	WIVES	51.4	47.0	58.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	53.6	55.3	58.0
	WIVES	53.6	49.2	49.2

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	161683.0	1	161683.0	1732.86	.000
Workplace	7.6	1	7.6	.08	.777
Gender	251.0	1	251.0	2.69	.108
Ethnicity	74.3	2	37.1	.40	.674
W x G	7.6	1	7.6	.08	.777
W x E	67.1	2	33.6	.36	.700
G x E	228.0	2	114.0	1.22	.304
W x G x E	209.5	2	104.7	1.12	.334
Error Term	4198.7	45	93.3		

TABLE 29

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Intellectual-Cultural Orientation"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender and Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO	HUSBANDS	36.0	48.6	47.5
	WIVES	48.6	48.8	53.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	44.4	53.0	42.4
	WIVES	48.6	44.4	48.8

TABLE 30

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

Sub-scale "Active-Recreational Orientation"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	46.4	50.8	44.8
	WIVES	48.6	57.4	44.8
BANKS	HUSBANDS	31.2	55.8	54.0
	WIVES	39.8	48.6	48.6

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	127703.0	1	127703.0	1403.44	.000
Workplace	85.3	1	85.3	.94	.338
Gender	9.2	1	9.2	.10	.752
Ethnicity	1280.9	2	640.5	7.04	.002
W x G	63.8	1	63.8	.70	.407
W x E	811.7	2	405.8	4.46	.017
G x E	162.7	2	81.3	.89	.416
W x G x E	241.8	2	120.6	1.33	.276
Error Term	4094.7	45	91.0		

TABLE 31

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALE

Sub-scale "Moral-Religious Emphasis"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender and Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO	HUSBANDS	56.4	56.6	60.0
	WIVES	58.0	58.2	64.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	55.2	66.0	56.8
	WIVES	55.0	59.8	61.2

TABLE 32

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

Sub-scale "Organization"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	58.0	50.2	56.0
	WIVES	52.4	56.2	61.0
BANKS	HUSBANDS	52.2	53.8	60.6
	WIVES	62.0	62.0	48.8

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	177698.0	1	177698.0	1742.01	.000
Workplace	12.1	1	12.1	.12	.732
Gender	53.2	1	53.2	.52	.474
Ethnicity	10.7	2	5.4	.05	.949
W x G	.3	1	.3	.00	.958
W x E	175.7	2	87.9	.86	.429
G x E	260.8	2	130.4	1.28	.288
W x G x E	616.7	2	308.4	3.02	.059
Error Term	4590.4	45	102.0		

TABLE 33

FAMILY ENVIRONMENT SCALES

Sub-scale "Control"

Three-way Analysis of Variance: Wives' Workplace by Gender by Ethnicity

CELL MEANS

WIVES' WORKPLACE		ANGLO	MEX-AM	BLACK
PHONE CO.	HUSBANDS	44.0	58.8	51.0
	WIVES	48.2	48.2	53.5
BANKS	HUSBANDS	50.2	52.0	42.2
	WIVES	56.6	56.6	46.2

SOURCE TABLE

SOURCE	SUM OF SQ.	D.F.	MEAN SQ.	F-RATIO	P
Total	144252.0	1	144252.0	1277.77	.000
Workplace	.3	1	.3	.00	.958
Gender	57.4	1	57.4	.51	.479
Ethnicity	294.7	2	147.3	1.31	.281
W x G	155.3	1	155.3	1.38	.247
W x E	555.8	2	277.9	2.46	.097
G x E	153.9	2	76.9	.68	.511
W x G x E	161.8	2	80.9	.72	.494
Error Term	5080.2	45	112.9		